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MISTAKEN IDENTITY IN MARK TWAIN'S MAJOR FICTION

by

MARY ANN KINNEBREW

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Thesis Director's signature:

Walter Isle

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ABSTRACT

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In most of Mark Twain's major novels, mistaken identity is the central plot device and satiric device. The main variation is the romantic convention of the disguised aristocrat who undertakes an incognito journey, which appears in The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, The American Claimant, Huckleberry Finn, and The Mysterious Stranger. It is the structural principle of plot organization in The Prince and the Pauper and The American Claimant, and one major episode in A Connecticut Yankee is based on the romantic convention. In all three novels it is adapted as a satiric vehicle and as an example of Twain's theories of determining training and environment. The initial device of switched identities—the change of clothes between commoner and aristocrat—forces the aristocrat into an incognito journey, which becomes a moral pilgrimage as his ingrained ideas give way to the new environmental forces that are brought to bear on him. The journey motif offers the satirist a wide scope to display the crimes of a hereditary aristocracy in The Prince and the Pauper and A Connecticut Yankee and the inequalities of American democracy in The American Claimant.
The simple formula of the educational journey initiated by the device of switched identities appears also in Twain's masterpiece, *Huckleberry Finn*. In the characters of the King and the Duke, Twain treats on a burlesque level the romantic convention of the aristocrat in disguise, for the purpose of uniting his satiric themes of the moral depravity of a slave-holding aristocracy and the detrimental effects of romantic literature. He uses the romantic conventions again in the controversial conclusion to draw his incipient tragedy back into the realm of comedy and farce.

In *The Mysterious Stranger*, mistaken identity is used on both the allegorical and psychological-philosophical levels of the narrative action as the organizing structural principle and as a vehicle for Twain's theories of determinism and for his condemnation of the "damned human race." In the allegory, Satan-Philip Traum is the celestial aristocrat in disguise who journeys to the earth to observe the peculiarities of the human species. He is both satiric observer and Theodor Fischer's mentor in disillusionment as he takes him on supernatural journeys around the earth and instructs him about the Moral Sense and Twain's theories of determinism. On the psychological-philosophical level of the action, Satan is Theodor's reason arriving at progressive realizations of the absurdity of the human predicament. *The Mysterious Stranger* is thus related to Twain's comic fantasy, "The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in
Connecticut," in which he presents the dual personality of
man and conscience.

In *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, Twain uses the convention of
changelings in the cradle as his central plot device. The
switch of identities between master and slave is used to
satirize slavery and to illustrate the effects of environment
and training on behavior. In one of its aspects, *Pudd'nhead
Wilson* is the detective thriller, and the mistaken identity
plot, with its inherent confusion of appearance and reality,
and the possibilities that it offers for dramatic unraveling,
furnishes the necessary suspense.
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INTRODUCTION

Mark Twain was fascinated with the problem of mistaken identity throughout his life. Most of his major novels turn on the device of mistaken identity, and it is a recurring theme in the short stories. The plots of The Prince and the Pauper, Huckleberry Finn, A Connecticut Yankee, The American Claimant, Pudd'nhead Wilson, Tom Sawyer, Detective, and The Mysterious Stranger are all based on variations of mistaken identity, and it appears briefly in The Gilded Age and Tom Sawyer. Types of mistaken identity, dual personalities, alter egos, and Siamese twins are present in many of the short stories, notably in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," "My Platonic Sweetheart," "The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut," and "Those Extraordinary Twins." Real life cases of mistaken identity always interested Twain. The shadowy tie of his mother's family with the Lambtons, Earls of Durham, and the futile attempts by various American Lambtons to prove their claim to the earldom and its rich collieries never ceased to fascinate him, and he used his own family background in the plot of The American Claimant and in the fake autobiography of the bogus Duke in Huckleberry Finn. He was interested in such other pretenders as Mrs. Eddy, Shakespeare-Bacon, and Arthur Orton, the Tichborne claimant. In 1873 he had his secretary collect no less than six scrapbooks of clippings about Orton, and he
wrote lengthy articles repudiating Mrs. Eddy's claims to
divine authority and upholding Sir Francis Bacon as the author
of Shakespeare's plays.¹

There seems no doubt that mistaken identity had deep
psychological implications for Twain, but it is perhaps im-
possible to determine the reason for his obsession. Several
Twain scholars, however, have ventured speculations. Van
Wyck Brooks presents the most detailed psychoanalysis in his
controversial The Ordeal of Mark Twain. He explains Twain's
obsession with mistaken identity and dual personality as a
symbolic reflection of a deep spiritual conflict within his
own soul—the conflict between his desire to be a literary
artist and the role of businessman that materialistic,
puritanical America demanded of him.

Dual personality! Could he ever have been aware of
the extent to which his writings revealed that conflict
in himself? Why was he so obsessed by journalistic
facts like the Siamese Twins and the Tichbourne case,
with its lost heir and the usurper? Why is it that the
idea of changelings in the cradle perpetually haunted
his mind, as we can see from Pudd'nhead Wilson and The
Gilded Age and the variation of it that constitutes
The Prince and the Pauper? The prince who has submerged
himself in the role of the beggar boy—Mark Twain has
drawn himself there, just as he has drawn himself in
the William Wilson theme of 'The Facts Concerning the
Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut,' where he ends
by dramatically slaying the conscience that torments
him. And as for that pair of incompatibles bound to-
gether in one flesh—'Those Extraordinary Twins,' the 'good'
boy who has followed the injunctions of his mother and
the 'bad' boy of whom society disapproves—how many of
Mark Twain's stories and anecdotes turn upon that same
theme, that same juxtaposition! Does he not reveal there,
in all its nakedness, the true history of his life.²
Like Brooks, Henry Nash Smith finds that dual personality had psychological implications for Twain, but he reverses Brooks' emphasis. It was the Genteel Tradition with its stress on decorum and conformity rather than the American frontier that stultified Twain as a literary artist. He fits Twain into the tradition of vernacular writing in America with its implicit rebellion against the Genteel Tradition and all authority. Twain's concern with dual personality is a reflection of the conflict between propriety and non-conformity that runs throughout his writing. Kenneth S. Lynn believes that in the later writings the switched identity theme borders on nightmare and insanity.

The protagonist often finds that he has been locked up inside the wrong identity and can't get out again, or that he is in some way tied to another individual in an attachment from which there is no release this side of the grave.

He offers the hypothesis that the later nightmare stages of switched identity, especially the reversal of sexual roles, which appears frequently in the unpublished writings, reveals Twain's awareness of the "disintegration of all traditional values" and his growing fears "of a world going out of control."

Twain's obsession with mistaken identity probably did result from some such psychological conflict, and psychological theories are always fascinating. However, Bernard DeVoto's warning must be kept in mind—that it is highly speculative to theorize about a dead man's psyche even from the large evidence that is present in his books.
taken in this thesis will be to analyze Twain's use of mistaken identity as a plot device and a satiric device in the major fiction. The novels to be dealt with--The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, The American Claimant, Huckleberry Finn, Pudd'nhead Wilson, and The Mysterious Stranger--are those in which mistaken identity is adapted as the organizing principle of plot structure and as a vehicle for satire.

Mistaken identity is used somewhat differently in each of the novels, but one main variation--the romantic convention of the aristocrat in disguise--recurs in The Prince and the Pauper (1882), A Connecticut Yankee (1889), The American Claimant (1892), Huckleberry Finn (1885), and The Mysterious Stranger (1902-1908). In The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant, Twain treats the romantic convention seriously. It is his central plot device in The Prince and the Pauper and The American Claimant, and is a vehicle for satire against hereditary aristocracies and for his theories of determining training and environment in all three novels. The plots of The Prince and the Pauper and The American Claimant and one major episode in A Connecticut Yankee become that of the educational journey. The Initial device of switched identities thrusts the aristocratic protagonists on to the road, and their aristocratic egoism, resulting from environment and training, is modified by the new environmental experiences that are brought to bear
on them in their new identities as commoners. The incognito journey functions like the traditional journey of picaresque fiction, providing the satirist a wide scope to display the inhumanity of man to man.

The plot formula that Twain adapted from romance in *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) is used again in his masterpiece, *Huckleberry Finn* (1885). The overall structure of *Huckleberry Finn* is the educational journey initiated by the device of switched identities. Huck's fake murder precipitates the incognito journey down the Mississippi, which becomes a moral pilgrimage as he learns love and friendship on the raft from "Nigger Jim" and is disillusioned with man in society every time that he ventures on to the shore. The structure of *Huckleberry Finn* is much more complex than that of the other switched identity novels, for Twain seems to have tapped the archetypal unconscious in the symbolic pattern of death and rebirth that informs each of the episodes. In the characters of the bogus King and Duke, Twain treats on a burlesque level the romantic convention of the aristocrat in disguise. The two royal humbugs serve to unite his satiric theme of the moral depravity of a slaveholding aristocracy and the detrimental effects of romantic literature. In the burlesque conclusion to the incipient tragedy, Twain resorts to the mistaken identity conventions of Tom's Evasion literature to draw his novel back into the realm of farce and comedy.
The Mysterious Stranger is related to the earlier mistaken identity novels of the disguised aristocrat who undertakes an incognito journey. On the allegorical level of the action, Satan is the celestial aristocrat who travels to the earth and assumes the identity of the mysterious stranger, Philip Traum, in order to observe the eccentricities of the human species. His supernatural travels with the boy narrator, Theodor Fischer, become a moral pilgrimage for Theodor, as Traum-Satan, in his role of mentor, disillusions Theodor with mankind and instructs him in Twain's theories of determinism. On the psychological-philosophical level of the narrative action, The Mysterious Stranger is related to Twain's short story, "The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut," in which he presents the dual personality of self and conscience. In The Mysterious Stranger, Satan is Theodor's reason, his intuition, coming to the realization of the absurdity of the human predicament. The ultimate denial of reality in The Mysterious Stranger is Twain's concluding statement to "a world made wrong," which he had attempted to remedy by means of satire in his earlier fiction.

In Pudd'nhead Wilson (1894) Twain uses the convention of changelings in the cradle as his central plot device. The switch of identities between master and slave becomes the vehicle for his ironic indictment of slavery and also serves to illustrate the effects of determining training and environment on behavior. In one of its aspects, Pudd'nhead Wilson is a detective story, and the switched identity plot,
with its inherent confusion of appearance and reality and its possibilities for dramatic unraveling, provides the necessary suspense.

To Mark Twain, the literary artist, the plot of mistaken identity with its endless opportunities for humor, irony, and dramatic revelations was probably initially attractive as a facile means of getting a book under way. His difficulty with plot construction is well known, and the mistaken identity conventions of romantic fiction helped him to solve his structural problems. Although the artificial contrivances are usually always too much in evidence, they are largely beneficial to Twain's writing in that they provide a unified plot structure and carry the main burden of his satire. In the device of switched identities, Twain found a means of "saying his say" against "the damned human race" and its peculiar institutions and of expressing his ideas about determining training and environment. It is to Twain's credit as a literary artist that he was able to adapt the romantic conventions to his own purposes as a vehicle for his satiric themes and as a unifying plot device.
CHAPTER ONE
THE ARISTOCRAT IN DISGUISE

In The Prince and the Pauper, (1882) A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889), and The American Claimant (1892), mistaken identity takes the form of the romantic convention of the wandering aristocrat in disguise. Usually the cliches of romantic fiction receive castigation in Twain's books, as in Huckleberry Finn, where the convention of the disguised aristocrat is burlesqued in the characters of the King and the Duke, but in The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant, Twain treats the device seriously. He uses it as the structural principle of his plots and as a vehicle for his satire against monarchy and his theory of determinism.

The plots of The Prince and the Pauper and The American Claimant and a major episode of A Connecticut Yankee are based on the romantic convention of the wandering aristocrat in disguise. The plots are initiated by an exchange of identities which thrusts the aristocrat into another segment of experience for which his training has not prepared him. He undertakes an educational pilgrimage in his identity as a commoner, and his former ideas are somewhat modified by his experiences. The climax comes when he must prove his real identity to unbelievers. The test of true identity is similar to the strawberry mark cliche' of romantic fiction. A habitual mannerism, a special knowledge, or a surprise witness at the
last moment reveals his true identity, and the aristocrat is reinstated in his hereditary honors but with his views changed by the experiences he has undergone.

The convention of the aristocrat in disguise was a natural vehicle for satire against monarchy. Stripped of the artificialities of rank which set him apart from the rest of humanity, the aristocrat finds that he is just an ordinary man and frequently that he is inferior. It is an absurdity to worship the divinity of kings, since the mere exchange of clothes can turn a prince into a pauper and vice versa. The exchange of identities in all three novels is effected by a change of clothing. Clothes come to symbolize the artificialities of rank which separate man from man, and especially the institution of hereditary monarchy which sets one man above all others as the being appointed by God to rule. The Yankee points to the symbolism in words reminiscent of Carlyle's clothes imagery:

You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its officeholders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease, and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it.

John DeWitt McKee points out that Twain's satire is aimed at the institution and not at the individual. Edward Tudor,
King Arthur, and Viscount Berkeley as individuals are sympathetic characters. Edward bravely stands up to the beggars and thieves of Kent and wins respect when he defeats Hugo at cudgels. His gratitude to Hendon for saving his life and his sympathy for the two Baptist women burned at the stake for their beliefs are sincere and genuine. King Arthur is most regal and admirable as he risks his life to give aid to the poor woman dying of smallpox. Viscount Berkeley's democratic idealism is worthy of respect even though he becomes a "wobbler" when faced with the realities of democracy, and his love for Sally Sellers, the daughter of the American Claimant, is above considerations of rank and fortune. Twain does not blame the aristocrat for taking advantage of his hereditary position but the human race for worshipping rank and allowing the institution of monarchy to exist. This is brought out most clearly in The American Claimant. Barrow, Twain's mouthpiece, comments on a speech denouncing hereditary aristocracies. He does not blame an earl for being an earl, but he does blame the nation—"...any bulk and mass of population anywhere, in any country, that will put up with the infamy, the outrage, the insult of a hereditary aristocracy which they can't enter—and on absolutely free and equal terms." The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant are thus "revolutionary documents," preaching the overthrow of monarchy and the establishment of democratic government, although the revolutionary aspect is
softened in *The Prince and the Pauper* when Twain is forced to take into account the actual facts of history and in *The American Claimant* where he testifies to a realization of the inequalities existent in nineteenth century American democracy.

The switched identity device was also an apt vehicle for Twain's theory of determinism. As Twain conceived it, training or the sum total of the influence on a man, and heredity, a man's "make," were the determining agents in behavior. The theory of determining training and environment that he illustrates in the moral pilgrimages of his aristocratic protagonists in *The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee,* and *The American Claimant* is explained in his "Gospel," "What Is Man?"

> Whosoever a man is, is due to his make, and to the influences brought to bear upon it by his hereditaries, his habitat, his associations. He is moved, directed, COMMANDED, by exterior influences—solely... He is a chameleon; by the law of his nature he takes the color of his place of resort. The influences about him create his preferences, his aversions, his politics, his tastes, his morals, his religion. He creates none of these things for himself...It is in his chameleon-ship that his greatest good fortune lies. He has only to change his habitat--his associations. But the impulse to do it must come from the outside—he cannot originate it himself, with that purpose in view. Sometimes a very small and accidental thing can furnish him the initiatory impulse and start him on a new road, with a new ideal.

Twain furnishes "the initiatory impulse" with the device of switched identities which places his aristocratic protagonists in a different environment with different associations. Twain's aristocrats are basically good and decent, but they have been
brought up to regard themselves as superior to other men. Aristocratic training is shown to have had its deteriorating effects. When they are thrust into the identity of a commoner by fate, new influences are brought to bear and their former ideas and behavior are modified. The moral pilgrimage which illustrates man's chameleon-like nature is paradoxical, but as Gladys Bellamy has shown, Twain's moralism and determinism exist side by side in much of his fiction. The conflict is most evident in the later *The Mysterious Stranger* (1902-1906), in which Twain's mouthpiece, Satan-Philip Traum, denounces "the damned human race" with its perverted Moral Sense on one page, and denies that man is a free moral agent on the next.

As in most of Twain's fiction, romantic preconceptions are undercut by reality. The moral pilgrimage that appears in *The Prince and the Pauper*, *The American Claimant*, and *A Connecticut Yankee* is like the initiation into real experience which undercuts romantic preconceptions in *The Innocents Abroad* and *Roughing It*. As the Innocent of the early travel books is forced to re-evaluate his romantic ideas when faced with the real Europe and the real West, Edward Tudor, King Arthur, and Viscount Berkeley meet the injustice of harsh laws, physical slavery, and trade union tyranny and political pull, where they have envisioned the romantic life of the commoner and the equalitarianism of a democratic society. Their wanderings in the guise of a commoner take on the aspect
of a moral pilgrimage and an initiation into real experience
as they learn to face reality and to change their pre-
conceived opinions. Edward Tudor and King Arthur are required
"to go to school to their own laws" in order "to learn mercy." Viscount Berkeley tests his idealistic democratic theories in
the actual nineteenth century American democracy and learns
that democracies have their aristocracies too—aristocracies
of position, aristocracies of prosperity, and aristocracies
of the ins as opposed to the outs. He learns that it is a
peculiarity of the human race to worship rank and that one
man cannot change the world. The educational pilgrimage of
*The Prince* and *The Pauper*, *A Connecticut Yankee*, and *The
American Claimant* functions similarly to the convention of
the journey of picaresque fiction, giving the satirist a
wide scope to display the cruelty of man to man. In his
wanderings the aristocrat learns by observing human suffering
caused by cruel laws, slavery, and poverty, and the lesson is
brought home to him as he suffers himself.

The mistaken identity device in *The Prince and the Pauper*,
*A Connecticut Yankee*, and *The American Claimant*, embodies
another favorite theme of Twain's, the intermingling of dream
and reality. The new identities which are forced upon the
aristocratic protagonists take on the aspect of nightmare. No
one believes their assertions of their real identities, and
they are either mocked and derided as imposters or pitied and
humored as mad men. The cruelty which they observe and
experience seems unreal to them like the chaotic scenes of a frightful dream. The climax of the dream comes when they are called upon to prove their true identity, and they realize that they are powerless to do so. The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant thus fore-shadow the ultimate denial of reality in The Mysterious Stranger, in which Twain asserts that nothing exists except the self and reduces the universe to a hideous dream.

I. The Prince and the Pauper

The Prince and the Pauper has been generally acclaimed as the most unified of Twain’s novels, and it owes its tight plot structure to the device of switched identities, which, Twain derived from Charlotte Yonge’s romance of The Prince and the Page (1865). The switched identity device is adapted as the structural principle of plot organization and as a vehicle for Twain’s satire against monarchy and for his theory of determinism.

The plot is initiated in chapter 3 by the exchange of clothes between the look-alikes, Edward Tudor and Tom Canty of Offal Court, which results in an exchange of identities when the prince rushes out of the palace dressed in Tom’s rags and is mistaken for the pauper boy. The rest of the book, up to the climactical coronation scene in chapter 32 in which the true identities are revealed, is a series of parallel episodes depicting the progress of the prince and the pauper in their switched roles. Franklin R. Rogers notes that Twain
has attempted to counterpoise the episodes devoted to Tom and Edward. Edward's meeting with John Canty, who mistakes him for his son, is balanced by the similar episode of Tom's reception by Henry VIII. Edward receives kindness and sympathy from Nan and Bet, Tom's sisters; and Tom is befriended by Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey, Edward's sister and cousin. Tom's first dinner as a prince is paralleled by Edward's dinner with Miles Hendon at the tavern on London Bridge. As Edward is provided with Miles Hendon to act as his mentor in his new identity, so Tom Canty is furnished with Hertford and St. John to guide him through his unaccustomed role. Edward's mock coronation by the beggars of Kent as Foo-Foo the First, King of the Mooncalves and then as King of the Camecocks after his defeat of Hugo at cudgels is a foreshadowing of the actual coronation scene in which Tom Canty is almost crowned king of England. The parallel plot strands of *The Prince and the Pauper* are further counterpoised by the theme of determining training. The prince's wanderings in the guise of a pauper become a moral pilgrimage as he "goes to school to his own laws" and thereby learns mercy. Edward's education in compassion by means of observing and experiencing suffering is balanced against the deterioration of Tom's natural goodness under the corrupting influences of court life.

Edward's aristocratic training has instilled in him the idea that he is superior to the rest of humanity and that
everyone must respect and reverence him as being set apart. Brought up in luxury and plenty, he is unaware of the sufferings of his people from daily poverty and cruel laws. His naivety is demonstrated in his romantic conception of Tom Canty's life as one long holiday of going barefoot and swimming in the Thames. Although he is somewhat the spoiled brat as a result of his princely training, he is also a good subject for an educational pilgrimage in compassion. His natural kindness and nobility initiates the exchange of identities. When he sees Tom being roughly pushed aside by a soldier, he invites him into the palace and, as a kindness and a jest, exchanges clothes with him. Observing the ugly bruise on Tom's arm where the soldier had struck him, he rushes out in a noble rage to send the soldier to the tower, forgetting that he is still dressed in Tom's rags and is mistaken for the pauper boy.

Wearing Tom Canty's rags, he wanders through the streets of London and the English countryside, and his journey in the identity of a pauper becomes a moral pilgrimage and an initiation into reality as he observes and suffers the commoner's lot. His romantic preconceptions of the carefree and happy life of his subjects are undercut with the actuality of poverty and cruel laws. His aristocratic training to believe himself better than other men is re-evaluated when he is faced with hunger, the mockery of unbelievers, and physical indignities. Most important to Twain's overall theme, the
moral pilgrimage in a different identity teaches him compassion for his fellowman and provides an insight into the business of kingship. The prince is a wiser and more merciful king for having "gone to school to his own laws."\textsuperscript{16}

He soon learns that his natural person commands no respect. The young hoodlums of Christ's Hospital scoff at his claims to royalty and beat him soundly. Hoping to have received refuge in a charitable institution that his father had founded, he discovers that the traditional ideas about charity do not really get to the heart of the problem. The Christ's Hospital boys are well fed and decently clothed and yet they are cruel and uncompassionate because of their early environmental training. The young prince learns his first lesson well.

When I am king, they shall not have bread and shelter only, but also teachings out of books; for a full belly is little worth where the mind is starved, and the heart. I will keep this diligently in my remembrance, that this day's lesson be not lost upon me, and my people suffer thereby; for learning softeneth the heart and breedeth gentleness and charity.\textsuperscript{17}

Falling into the hands of the unscrupulous John Canty, Tom's father, the young prince is taken into Kent where he is drafted into a gang of thieves and beggars. He discovers that many members of the gang are decent people, driven to crime by cruel laws and abject poverty. The illusion of the romantic and carefree life of the commoner is utterly destroyed. Yokel sums up the typical history of the commoner:
I am Yokel, once a farmer and prosperous, with loving wife and kids—now am I somewhat different in estate and calling; and the wife and kids are gone; mayhap they are in heaven, mayhap in—in the other place—but the kindly God be thanked they bide no more in England! My good old blameless mother strove to earn bread by nursing the sick; one of these died, the doctors knew not how, so my mother was burned for a witch, whilst my babes looked on and wailed. English law!—up, all, with your cups!—now altogether and with a cheer!—drink to the merciful English law that delivered her from the English hell! Thank you mates, one and all. I begged, from house to house—I and the wife—bearing with us the hungry kids—but it was crime to be hungry in England—so they stripped us and lashed us through three towns. Drink ye all again to the merciful English law!—for its lash drank deep of my Mary's blood and its blessed deliverance came quick. She lies there, in the potter's field, safe from all harms. And the kids—well, whilst the law lashed me from town to town, they starved. Drink lads—only a drop—a drop to the poor kids, that never did any creature harm. I begged again—begged for a crust, and got the stocks and lost an ear—see, here bides the stump; I begged again, and here is the stump of the other to keep me minded of it. And still I begged again, and was sold for a slave—here on my cheek under this stain, if I washed it off ye might see the red S the branding iron left there! A Slave! Do ye understand that word! An English Slave!—that is he that stands before ye. I have run from my master, and when I am found—the heavy curse of heaven fall on the law of the land that hath commanded it!—I shall hang!18

Responding to Yokel's maudlin eloquence, the prince in all his royal dignity announces that such cruel laws will be abolished in England when he comes to the throne. He is mocked by the beggars for his foolish imposture, but the need for more merciful laws is firmly implanted in his mind.

The prince's education in compassion is complete when he suffers from his own unmerciful laws. Blamed for stealing a pig while on a foray with one of the gang, he is saved from
hanging by a merciful judge but is sentenced to be whipped and imprisoned. It is only through Miles Hendon's ingenuity in bribing a corrupt constable that he is spared. He actually suffers from unjust laws when he and Miles Hendon are imprisoned at the caprice of Miles' usurping brother. The young prince in his misery forgets his aristocratic dignity and turns to two kind Baptist women for sympathy and comfort. When his two friends are burned at the stake for the crime of being Baptists and he is forced to look helplessly on, the scene makes a deep and ineradicable impression on him. In words that border on utter disillusionment, he echoes Huck Finn after the Grangerford massacre.

That which I have seen, in that one little moment, will never go out from my memory, but will abide there, and I shall see it all the days, and dream of it all the nights, till I die. Would God I had been blind!

The lesson strikes deeper than any that has gone before and becomes more than an awareness of the injustice of man's political and religious institutions. The ultimate realization of the prince's moral pilgrimage is that of Huck Finn's journey through the heart of the ante-bellum South and that of Theodor Fischer's cosmic travels with the Mysterious Stranger—the awful inhumanity of man to man when he is motivated by the Moral Sense. The prince's initiation into the real experience of the commoner is also an insight into "the damned human race," which Twain at this stage in his career draws back from, placing his faith in the amelioration of institutions. In The Prince and the Pauper, the prince who
has learned compassion offers the promise of enlightened monarchy and wise government. Twain's main theme is brought out in the prince's promise to his fellow prisoners, which culminates his moral pilgrimage.

...within the compass of a month thou shalt be free, and the laws that have dishonored thee, and shamed the English name, shall be swept from the statute books. The world is made wrong; kings should go to school to their own laws, at times, and so learn mercy.\[20

The Miles Hendon subplot is a repetition of the romantic convention of the wandering aristocrat in disguise. Hendon comes home from the wars to find his father and older brother dead and his younger brother installed in his inheritance. His usurping brother refuses to recognize him as the legitimate heir and throws him and his young protege into the dungeon as imposters. The prince notes the similarity of their situations.

Mind not thy mischances, good man; there be others in the world whose identity is denied, and whose claims are derided. Thou hast company.\[21

Roger B. Salomon points out that the subplot seems to have been included for the sake of contrasting the simple acceptance and faith of the child-prince's belief in the truth of his benefactor's claims with Hendon's adult reservations as to Edward's pretensions. Hendon asks the prince if he doubts him, and the prince answers "with childlike simplicity and faith," "I do not doubt thee." But to the prince's question, "Dost thou doubt me?" Hendon, the adult, can give no such simple and spontaneous answer.\[22 The subplot thus provides
Hope for the amelioration of the world's evils is placed ultimately in the child, who, inherently good, can be taught kindness and mercy, and in the benevolent institutions that he will establish when properly trained.

Edward's progressively more realistic view of the commoner's lot as he undergoes poverty and imprisonment is paralleled by Tom Canty's realization that the life of a royal prince can have its drawbacks. Walter Blair notes that Tom's vision of the kingship is as distorted as the prince's romantic conception of the life of the commoner. In a Tom Sawyerish manner, Tom Canty envisions the glory of being the center of elaborate ceremonials and "the adulation of salaaming courtiers." Like Tom Sawyer, he is an avid reader of romantic fiction and is obsessed with imitating what he has read. The exchange of identities offers him the opportunity to play his favorite role and to test its validity. His view of the absolute freedom of a child of royalty is changed when he experiences the actualities of arduous ceremonials and the heavy responsibilities of kingship. "The charmed life of a petted prince in a regal palace" proves as stifling to the young commoner as Huck Finn's "sivilizing" at the hands of the Widow Douglas. The palace begins to take on the aspect of a gilded cage as Tom Canty realizes that he is no longer his own master but is a slave to the mysteries of ceremonial etiquette.
However, Tom Canty, like Huck Finn, soon grows used to his new environment and becomes an example of Twain's theory of determining training. While the rightful prince is progressing in his education in compassion by suffering the commoner's lot, Tom Canty's innate goodness is deteriorating under the influences of courtly life. Power, adulation, and luxury have had their effects. He begins to show signs of aristocratic egoism and power madness. He comes to enjoy the elaborate ceremonies pertaining to the kingship and even adds to them. He doubles his number of "salaaming courtiers," and trebles his four-hundred servants. Deference by such royal personages as Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey no longer embarrasses him, and he comes to expect it as his due. "Being offended, he could turn upon an earl, or even a duke, and give him a look that would make him tremble." Enjoying his new identity, he even manages to push the plaguing thoughts of his mother and sisters and the poor rightful prince, which had bothered him so much at first, out of his mind. The climax of his character deterioration is his denial of his own mother when she recognizes him by a habitual mannerism in the coronation parade. In words that echo Peter's denial of Christ, "I do not know you woman," Tom Canty demonstrates Twain's theory that monarchs are selfish and cruel because of their training.

The mistaken identity plot of The Prince and the Pauper foreshadows the theme of dream intermixed with reality that
was to dominate so much of Twain's later fiction. The new identities of the twin protagonists become madcap dreams from which there seems to be no escape. No one believes their assertions of their real identities, and each is thought to be mad. The prince's moral pilgrimage in the guise of a pauper is a nightmare of cruelty and physical indignities. John Canty, the beggar gang, and the mad hermit are like creatures of nightmare who haunt the young prince as he clings to reality and his true identity. Tom Canty's new identity is a dream come true, but the actuality of court ceremonials is far different from his pleasant daydreams. The imposture forced upon him weighs heavily on his mind. Like the prince, he borders on insanity as he tries to cling to reality.

The mistaken identity device is also used as a vehicle for satire against the institution of monarchy. The exchange of identities which is effected by the simple changing of clothes completely destroys the assumption of the divinity of kings. Tom Canty and Edward Tudor are look-alikes although there is a vast difference in their backgrounds—the vast difference between Offal Court and the royal palace. Stripped of their clothes, they are alike, as the prince realizes to his royal astonishment.

Thou hast the same hair, the same eyes, the same voice and manner, the same form and stature, the same face and countenance that I bear. Fared we forth naked, there is none could say which was you, and which the Prince of Wales.²⁷

As in The American Claimant and A Connecticut Yankee, clothing takes on the symbolic value of rank. The artificial dis-
tinction of society removed, Tom Canty is just as good as Edward Tudor. Tom Canty as the common man elevated to the monarchy proves himself a wise and humane king and sets a fine example for Edward to follow. Using the common-sensical methods of a Sancho Panza, he sets an accused witch free when she cannot produce a storm to save herself and her child, and he spares a convicted poisoner from the hideous death of being boiled alive when he recognizes him as the man who had saved a friend of his from drowning on the day that the murder was supposed to have taken place.

Tom Canty as the common man elevated to aristocracy also provides Twain with a satiric viewpoint from which to criticize the frivolity and extravagance of court life. His common-sensical attitudes and ingenuousness offer many possibilities for humor, but they are also an explicit judgment on the nonsense of monarchy. For example, when he is told that the preceding six months' expenses amounted to twenty-eight thousand pounds, only eight thousand pounds of which had been paid, he practically observes:

We be going to the dogs, 'tis plain. 'Tis meet and necessary that we take a smaller house and set the servants at large, sith they have no value but to make delay, and trouble one with offices that harass the spirit and shame the soul, they misbecoming any but a doll that hath nor brains nor hands to help itself vital. I remember me of a small house that standeth against the fish market, by Billingsgate. 28

Twain's anti-monarchism is also evident in the prince's half of the narrative. Edward Tudor in the identity of a commoner can think of nothing but his rights and his wrongs. He is so
highly impractical that he has to be furnished with a protector to look after him in his new identity or he would never survive. The prince's wanderings over the English countryside also provide Twain a wide scope to display the cruelty and inhumanity of monarchical government.

Although Twain's theory of determining training and his anti-monarchism are inter-related themes—the influence of complete power and luxury leads to selfishness and cruelty—they work somewhat against each other in the novel and modify his satiric intention of celebrating the common man and democracy as opposed to the aristocrat and monarchy. The prince who learns mercy is inevitably a more highly admirable character than the pauper who succumbs to the luxury and power of the aristocratic life. Twain's satiric intention is also modified by the fact that his novel is set in the sixteenth century. He could only show the evils existent under monarchical government. Hope for their amelioration had to rest in the enlightened monarch, since the ideal democratic government was two centuries distant in time. The call to revolution was reserved for A Connecticut Yankee.

In The Prince and the Pauper, Twain's adaptation of the aristocrat-in-disguise motif of romantic fiction was beneficial in that it solved his problems of plot structure and provided an excellent vehicle for his satire against monarchy and his theory of determinism. However, the neatly unified mistaken identity plot, combined with the Walter Scott archaisms of
dialogue and the historical setting, result to a large extent in producing the stilted artificiality of romance which Twain usually objected to so much. His attempts at realism in dealing with the common people almost always degenerate into sentimentality. The overall impression of *The Prince and the Pauper*, in spite of Twain's satiric thesis, is finally that of the romantic fairy tale.

II. A *Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*

In a sense it may be said that the basic plot structure of *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* is a variation of the conventional switched identity plot. For the purposes of Twain's satiric theme of showing the superiority of practical and democratic America over the chivalric and feudal past, Hank Morgan, superintendent of a Colt arms factory, is projected by a blow on the head from the nineteenth century into the sixth century. As in *The Prince and the Pauper* and *The American Claimant*, the device of switched identities is adapted as a vehicle for Twain's anti-monarchism and determinism. By transposing a practical yankee to the sixth century, he gains a satiric viewpoint "to say [his] say against monarchy." King Arthur and his knights-errant, viewed from the stand point of nineteenth century standards, are a band of "white Indians," whose main diversions are fighting bloody duels and telling bawdy tales at table. "There did not seem to be enough brains in the whole nursery to bait a fishhook with," and the enterprising yankee with his
knowledge of modern technology and his technicolor miracles quickly gains the ascendancy. Recognized as the Boss, he sets out to overthrow the institutions of Church and monarchy by educating the people up to manhood. However, his experiment in democracy ends in failure when the Church intervenes with the Interdict. Superstition and fear of the Church's terrors have been instilled in his potential democrats through long years of training, and they turn against the new republic. Fifty-two young boys are the only ones who remain faithful.

With boys it was different. Such as have been under our training from seven to ten years have had no acquaintance with the Church's terrors and it was among these that I found my fifty-two. The overall action of the switched identity plot thus serves as a vehicle to illustrate Twain's central thesis of determining training and his satire against the institution of monarchy.

Like the aristocratic protagonists, Edward Tudor and Viscount Berkeley, the Yankee wanders through the country in a variety of disguises, and his journeys are educational as he observes the sufferings and poverty of the common people and resolves on a campaign against the institutions of an established Church and a hereditary monarchy. His pilgrimages similarly serve the satiric purpose of giving Twain a wider range of abuses to denounce, when he visits monasteries, Morgan le Fay's dungeon, and the homes of the poor. As in The Prince and the Pauper and The American Claimant, the
switched identity device in *A Connecticut Yankee* also embodies the theme of dream confused with reality. The story exists as an hallucination or dream within the mind of the Yankee, whereby he was transferred in time and space from the nineteenth century into the sixth century of King Arthur's England. The dream becomes more real than reality as the dying Yankee in his delirium renounces his nineteenth century identity for the dream identity, foreshadowing the ultimate denial of reality in *The Mysterious Stranger* in which the universe is reduced to a hideous dream.

Dreams that were as real as reality—delirium, of course, but so real! Why, I thought the king was dead, I thought you were in Gaul and couldn't get home, I thought there was a revolution; in the fantastic frenzy of these dreams, I thought that Clarence and I and a handful of my cadets fought and exterminated the whole chivalry of England! But even that was not the strangest. I seemed to be a creature out of a remote unborn age, centuries hence, and even that was as real as the rest! Yes, I seemed to have flown back out of that age into this of ours, and then forward to it again, and was set down, a stranger and forlorn in that strange England, with an abyss of thirteen centuries yawn ing between me and you! between me and my home and my friends! between me and all that is dear to me, all could make life worth the living! It was awful—awfuler than you can ever imagine, Sandy. Ah, watch by me, Sandy—stay by me every moment—don't let me go out of my mind again; death is nothing, let it come, but not with those dreams, not with the torture of those hideous dreams—I cannot endure that again.33

The basic plot structure of *A Connecticut Yankee* thus contains characteristics of the more conventional switched identity plots of *The Prince and the Pauper* and *The American Claimant*. One major episode of *A Connecticut Yankee*, however,
follows closely the conventional plot of the wandering aristocrat in disguise. King Arthur and the Yankee, disguised as commoners, undertake a progress through the kingdom to observe the life of the common people and the oppression of the laws upon them. The plot of the episode is essentially that of *The Prince and the Pauper*. Twain similarly adapts the device of romantic fiction as a satiric vehicle to illustrate his twin themes of the fallacy of the divine right of kings and the influence of determining training on behavior.

The change from aristocrat to commoner is effected by a change of clothing. The King, stripped of his crown and royal adornments, is "one of the unhandsomest and most commonplace and unattractive" men in his kingdom. As in *The Prince and the Pauper* and *The American Claimant*, clothing symbolizes the artificialities of rank which differentiate one man from another. A king without his clothes is no better than other men and is frequently quite inferior. The whole assumption of the divine right of kings is called into question, since all that separates a king from the lowest subject in his kingdom is his clothes.

Like that of Edward Tudor, King Arthur's progress in the identity of a commoner becomes a moral pilgrimage as he is forced "to go to school" to his own cruel laws in order "to learn mercy." The King is similarly provided with a mentor to take care of him, since his aristocratic training makes him a most unfit subject for an incognito pilgrimage. The Yankee
has to drill him in the proper humble bearing and apathetic stance of the oppressed commoner. The King sincerely tries to imitate humility, but his attempts are not very convincing. The Yankee's comment on his performance announces the theme of the episode:

Words realize nothing, vivify nothing to you, unless you have suffered in your own person the thing the words try to describe.  

Like Edward Tudor, King Arthur will have to experience the actual suffering of his oppressed subjects before he can learn compassion and mercy.

The King and his tutor progress through his kingdom observing the injustice and cruelty of harsh laws on the commoner. Like the educational journey of Edward Tudor, the King's pilgrimage gives Twain a wide range to exhibit the crimes of an established church and a hereditary aristocracy. They view the mass execution of an entire family, some members of which were thought to have murdered a noble. They arrive in time to ease the last moments of a woman dying of smallpox, whose family has come under the malediction of the Church and the ruling lord. As John DeWitt McKee points out, Twain's satire is aimed at the institution and not at the individual. King Arthur is truly great when he administers to the dying woman.

Here was heroism at its last and loftiest possibility, its utmost summit; this was challenging death in the open field unarmed, with all the odds against the challenger, no reward set upon the contest and no admiring world in silks and cloth-of-gold to gaze and applaud; and yet the king's bearing was as serenely
brave as it had always been in those cheaper contests where knight meets knight in equal fight and clothed in protective-shield. He was great now, sublimely great.38

It is also "petrified training"39 that Twain's satire is directed against. A king is what he is because of his training, as the Yankee realizes when the King feels that he is duty and honor bound to return the woman's sons who have escaped from unjust imprisonment.

He could see only one side of it. He was born so, educated so, his veins were full of ancestral blood that was rotten with this sort of unconscious brutality, brought down by inheritance from a long procession of hearts that had each done its share toward poisoning the stream. To imprison these men without proof, and starve their kindred, was no harm, for they were merely peasants and subject to the will and pleasure of their lord, no matter what fearful form it might take; but for these men to break out of unjust captivity was insult and outrage, and a thing not to be countenanced by any conscientious person who knew his duty to his sacred caste.40

The King and the Yankee are sold into slavery when they cannot prove that they are free men, and the Yankee brings a higher price in the marketplace than does the King of England. Twain has his final "say against monarchy."41 The whole passage ironically undercuts the idea of the divine nature of kingship.

...it only goes to show that there is nothing diviner about a king than there is about a tramp, after all. He is just a cheap and hollow artificiality when you don't know he is a king.42

King Arthur's incognito tour with the Yankee, which began as a new kind of knight-errantry, ends in nightmare, as
the King, imprisoned in the identity of a commoner, is forced to suffer the physical indignities of slavery. His pleasure tour in the guise of a commoner becomes a moral pilgrimage, when he is awakened to the cruelty of his own institutions and the daily horrors of the commoner's lot by experiencing the life of the lowliest born of his subjects. After enduring himself the harsh actualities of slavery, he vows to abolish the institution if he is able to escape back to Camelot and his own identity.

...and what Englishman was the most interested in the slavery question by that time? His grace the king! Yes; from being the most indifferent, he was become the most interested. He was become the bitterest hater of the institution I had ever heard talk.

The climax of the episode is similar to that of *The Prince and the Pauper* and *The American Claimant*. The Yankee and the King are sentenced to hang along with the rest of the slaves for killing the slave driver. The King proclaims his true identity on the scaffold and "denounces the awful penalties of treason upon every soul there present if a hair of his sacred head were touched." Dressed in rags and bruised and filthy, like Edward Tudor at the coronation, he makes a ridiculous spectacle; and the lords and ladies who have gathered for the entertainment of a mass execution laugh uproariously at his royal pretensions. Once again, there is nothing innately respect-worthy about a king or about the human race, for that matter. As in *The Prince and the Pauper* and *The American Claimant*, a deus ex machina is employed to
return the aristocratic protagonist back to his true identity. The Yankee has managed to call Camelot on the embryonic telephone system that he has established, and the Knights of the Round Table pedal to the rescue on bicycles. King Arthur is restored to his hereditary honors but with his views altered by his experiences as a slave. His first act is to abolish the institution of slavery.

Coming in the latter half of the narrative, King Arthur's pilgrimage culminates Twain's satire on monarchy and is prepared for by dramatic foreshadowings. The theme of the pilgrimage is forecast in the remark made by one of Morgan le Fay's prisoners.

He said he believed that if you were to strip the nation naked and send a stranger through the crowd, he couldn't tell the king from a quack doctor, nor a duke from a hotel clerk. The Yankee points to the clothes symbolism of the switched identity episode in one of his denunciations of monarchy.

You see my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions or its office-holders. The country is the real thing, the substantial thing, the eternal thing; it is the thing to watch over, and care for, and be loyal to; institutions are extraneous, they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease, and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason, it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy; let monarchy keep it.

Similarly, the scene in which a band of aristocratic pilgrims stop to watch a slave girl being beaten and comment on the
excellent way the whip is handled, foreshadows the later episode in which the aristocrat is made to feel the sting of the whip himself. Dramatically adumbrated, the aristocrat-in-disguise episode is integrated into Twain's larger satiric structure as it becomes a vehicle for his twin themes of anti-monarchism and determinism.

III. The American Claimant

The American Claimant represents a drastic qualification of Twain's celebration of democracy and the common man in A Connecticut Yankee and The Prince and the Pauper. The plot of The American Claimant is similar to that of The Prince and the Pauper—the exchange of identities between an aristocrat and a commoner and their progress in their new roles. The device of mistaken identity is also used as a principle of plot organization and as a vehicle for satire and determinism. The two parallel plot strands are initiated by the device of switched identities. The Honorable Kirkcudbright Llanover Majoribanks Sellers Viscount Berkeley of Cholmondeley Castle, Warwickshire notifies his father, the Earl of Rossmore, that he intends to go to America and exchange places with the American Claimant to the Rossmore earldom, for he has become a convert to democracy and finds his aristocratic position painful.

I wish to retire from what to me is a false existence, a false position, and begin my life again—begin it right—begin it on the level of mere manhood, unassisted by factitious aids, and succeed or fail by pure merit or the want of it.
I will go to America, where all men are equal and all have an equal chance; I will live or die, sink or swim, win or lose as just a man—that alone, and not a single helping gaud or fiction back of it.47

The theme of Viscount Berkeley's strand of the narrative is succinctly expressed by his sceptical father:

My arguments and his aunt's persuasions have failed; let us see what America can do for us. Let us see what equality and hard times can effect for the mental health of a brain-sick young British lord. Going to renounce his lordship and be a man! Yas!48

The Viscount Berkeley plot takes on the conventional form of the wandering aristocrat in disguise when Berkeley goes to America and assumes an alias in order to test the popular theories that he has absorbed from his reading. His journey is a moral pilgrimage and an initiation into reality as he experiences the actualities of a democracy. The romantic convention of the disguised aristocrat is adapted as a satiric device and offers Twain the opportunity to contrast the democratic theory with the democratic practice.

Berkeley's first discovery is that Americans are as eager to grovel before a lord as the English. He realizes the impossibility of testing the theory of the equality of man in the identity of a visiting aristocrat, and decides "to vanish from scrutiny under a fictitious name"49 when his hotel catches on fire and he escapes in the clothes of the western desperado, One-Arm Pete. Reading in a newspaper an announcement of his own death, he chooses the alias of Howard Tracy and begins his new identity of a democrat in an
equalitarian society. As in *The Prince and the Pauper* and *A Connecticut Yankee*, the change from aristocrat to democrat is effected simply by a change of clothes. Clothing becomes symbolic of rank and position as Berkeley's fortunes fluctuate according to the clothes he wears. The clothes of a cowboy win him respect in a society that makes heroes of its outlaws and badmen, but they do not get him a job. When he applies for an upper clerkship in a government office where his Oxford education would be of service, he finds out that his English accent is against him "in the political center of a nation where both parties prayed for the Irish cause on the housetop and blasphemed it in the cellar."50

His money running short, Berkeley takes refuge in the most democratic of democratic institutions, a mechanic's boarding house, where he is forced to eat and sleep with actual democrats. He becomes an example of Twain's theory of determining training when he realizes that the equality of man is yet only a theory to him. "The mind perceived, but the man failed to feel it."51 When faced with the democratic familiarity of Hattie, "the heiress of a mechanic's boarding house,"52 and Barrow, a philosophical chairmaker, Berkeley's aristocratic training comes to the fore, and he is embarrassed and ashamed. "Theoretically (they were) his equals, but it was distinctly distasteful to see (them) exhibit it."53 He confesses in his diary that he dislikes the familiarity of the Americans and misses the
respect, the deference, with which he was treated all his life in England, and which seems to be somehow necessary to him. The culmination of Berkeley's insight into his own nature occurs when he is heckled into a fight with the boarding house bully. Ironically reduced to the level of mere manhood that his equalitarian theory requires, he wins the respect of the boys by means of his muscle. As a man, he is proud of the victory; but as an aristocrat, he is ashamed of the degradation of being the hero of a mechanic's boarding house. His remark illustrates Twain's theory of determining training—that early environmental influences shape the man: "The prodigal son merely fed swine; he didn't have to chum with them."54

Through the tutelage of Barrow, Berkeley comes to realize that the boarding house is a microcosm of the world. This little republic, "where all are free and equal, if men are free and equal anywhere in the earth,"55 has its aristocracies of prosperity and position and its aristocracy of the ins as opposed to the outs. Respect and deference are accorded a retired plumber and a policeman at the capitol building, but a poor devil who is out of a job is humiliated at table. "Equality ought to make men noble-minded,"56 but contrary to theory, Berkeley finds that it does not. Rank consciousness is a peculiar disease of the human race.

Roger B. Salomon notes that the lecture that Berkeley and Barrow hear "is actually Twain's transcription of at least
one of his own unpublished articles written at the height of his quarrel with (Matthew) Arnold. In other words, Twain uses the angry and passionate convictions of his earlier years for ironic purposes in The American Claimant.\(^{57}\) The democratic idealism of the early years is treated ironically in The American Claimant, as Twain was forced to re-evaluate his theories in the light of nineteenth century American democracy; but Twain still has his "say against monarchy."\(^{58}\) Barrow, Twain's mouthpiece, does not blame an earl for being an earl. The aristocrat who gives up his hereditary honors to be a man is not going to change the world. Barrow does blame the whole nation—"any bulk and mass of population anywhere, in any country, that will put up with the infamy, the outrage, the insult of a hereditary aristocracy which they can't enter—and on absolutely free and equal terms."\(^{59}\)

Although the inequalities of democracy are admitted, The American Claimant, like A Connecticut Yankee, is a "revolutionary document,"\(^{60}\) preaching the overthrow of aristocracy and monarchy. The peculiarities of mankind taken into consideration, democracy is still the best form of government that man has invented.

The American Claimant's half of the plot further illustrates Twain's recognition of the deficiencies in American democracy. Colonel Sellers, who is "just the same old scheming, generous, good-hearted, moonshiny, hopeful, no-account failure he always was"\(^{61}\) in The Gilded Age, is drafted
into the role of the American Claimant to the Rossmore earldom when his distant relative, Simon Lathers, dies, making him his heir. As in *The Gilded Age*, the character of Colonel Sellers is a symbol of what Twain thought was wrong with America. His fantastic schemes that are always on the verge of succeeding are symbolic of the speculation fever and money mania that Twain observed in himself and in nineteenth century America. Sellers' schemes finally end in insanity with his last "stupendous idea of re-organizing the climates of the earth according to the desires of the populations interested," and it is implied that the American speculation fever is also a kind of madness.

The switched identity device is used in the Sellers plot to demonstrate Twain's theory of determining training and one of his favorite themes—the moral and mental deterioration of living in a dreamworld. Mrs. Sellers, who is as practical as her husband is romantic, cannot get used to the sudden elevation to aristocracy. "Customs of a lifetime can't be dropped in a second," and the new titles of my lord and lady rest uneasy on her tongue.

In the character of Sally-Lady Gwendolen Sellers, Twain ironically uses the traditional romantic convention of switched identities to attack the detrimental effects of romance. A graduate of Rowena-Ivanhoe College with its "castellated college buildings—towers and turrets and an imitation moat—and everything about the place named out of
Sir Walter Scott's books and redolent of royalty and state and style,” where no one can go unless she can "prove four generations of what may be called American nobility," Sally has been taught a lot of "showy rubbish" and "un-American pretentiousness." Metamorphosed into Lady Gwendolen by her father's transforming imagination, she is delighted with her new identity. She moves in a private dream world by night filled with romantic imaginings of wealth, luxury, and handsome aristocratic beaus; but to keep the Sellers' family in bread, she is forced to take in sewing by day. Practical and democratic by necessity and romantic and aristocratic by her education, she is in effect two diametrically opposed personalities and resembles that moral freak, "Those Extraordinary Twins."

All day long in the privacy of her work-room Sally Sellers earned bread for the Sellers family, and all the evening Lady Gwendolen Sellers supported the Rossmore dignity. All day she was American, practically, and proud of the work of her head and hands and its commercial result. All the evening she took holiday and dwelt in a rich shadowland with titled and coroneted fictions.

Colonel Mulberry Sellers, who habitually lives in a dream world of his own making, merely adjusts reality to fit his latest identity. His ram-shackle house becomes Rossmore Towers; his ugly chromos of distinguished Americans do service as the ancestral portraits of the Rossmores; and his daughter is transformed into my Lady Gwendolen. In Mulberry Sellers, the ultimate result of living in daydreams is shown to be
complete loss of contact with reality, verging on insanity. In his symbolic function of the American democrat, Sellers serves Twain's satiric purpose of demonstrating that anyone would accept an earldom if it were offered to him. Fostered by the Rowena-Ivanhoe colleges and romantic fiction à la Walter Scott, the aristocratic nonsense is shown to have penetrated American democracy.

The two parallel plot strands are brought together by the device of mistaken identity and are intertwined in the traditional love story conclusion. The whole rigmarole where Sellers mistakes Berkeley for the materialized desperado, One-Arm Pete, deteriorates into low farce, and combined with the sentimental love story which resolves the parallel plots, is perhaps responsible for the negative response of most readers. However, even in the romantic love story the mistaken identity device is used for excellent ironic effects. Sally-Lady Gwendolen Sellers renounces her titles for the love of Tracy-Berkeley in words that echo Berkeley's earlier renunciation of hereditary honors.

I am going to purge myself of the last vestiges of artificiality and pretense, and then start fair on your own honest level, and be worthy mate to you thence forth. 69

Sally's renunciation understandably makes the disguised earl's son uncomfortable and so do her protestations of admiration for the supposedly dead Viscount Berkeley. Twain uses the mistaken identity device for subtle humor in his analysis
of Berkeley's feelings on the occasion.

He was jealous—and at the same time he was not jealous. In a sense the dead man was himself; in that case compliments and affection lavished upon that corpse went into his own till and were clear profit. But in another sense the dead man was not himself; and in that case all compliments and affection lavished there were wasted, and a sufficient basis for jealousy.

Ironically, Berkeley’s hesitations about her renunciation of hereditary honors leads Sally to believe that he is marrying her for her rank. She finally confronts Tracy-Berkeley with her suspicions, and he assures her that it is impossible for he is already an earl’s son. Sally does not believe him and thinks that he is either a mad man or an imposter. Berkeley says that he can prove his real identity when he receives an expected cablegram from his father, but the cablegram is not forthcoming. In the meantime Berkeley has admitted his real identity to the mocking lodgers at the mechanic’s boarding house who attribute his pretensions to "cheek." His position is similar to that of Edward Tudor and King Arthur. The new identity that began as a means of escape into another segment of experience has become a prison that he cannot get out of. As in The Prince and the Pauper, the prototype plot of the wandering aristocrat in disguise, Twain introduces a deus ex machina to return his aristocratic protagonist to his former identity with his views altered by his experiences as a commoner. Berkeley's father appears and reveals his true identity.
In summary, similar to its use in *The Prince and the Pauper*, the device of switched identity is adapted as the organizing principle of plot structure. The exchange of identities between an aristocrat and a democrat initiates the two parallel plot strands. Berkeley's half of the narrative is based on the romantic convention of the wandering aristocrat in disguise. Twain uses the convention as a satiric device to show the inequalities of democracy. Berkeley learns from his pilgrimage that democracies have their aristocracies too—the aristocracies of prosperity and position. Similarly, Sellers, the democrat who is elevated to aristocracy, serves Twain's satiric purposes of showing that anyone would accept an earldom if it were offered to him. *The American Claimant* is thus the other side of the coin to *A Connecticut Yankee*, representing a qualification of Twain's earlier faith in democracy as a panacea for the world's evils. Used as a satiric device in *The American Claimant*, the convention of switched identities is an excellent vehicle for Twain's satiric themes, but it is not used so successfully as a plot device. There is just a little too much mistaken identity.
CHAPTER TWO

HUCKLEBERRY FINN

In *Huckleberry Finn*, Twain also employs the device of mistaken identity as his organizing structural principle and as a vehicle for satire against a feudal aristocracy. However, the simple structure of the educational journey initiated by a switch of identities, which appears in *The Prince and the Pauper*, *A Connecticut Yankee*, and *The American Claimant*, is much more complex in *Huckleberry Finn*, becoming, as James M. Cox, Richard P. Adams, and Philip Young have noticed, a symbolic pattern of the imagery of death and rebirth. In the characters of Twain's bogus aristocrats, the King and the Duke, he treats on a burlesque level the romantic convention of the aristocrat in disguise which he had previously treated seriously in *The Prince and the Pauper* (1882) and was to use seriously again in *A Connecticut Yankee* (1889) and *The American Claimant* (1892). The burlesque of the romantic convention was a fortunate choice in *Huckleberry Finn* (1885), for the fake aristocrats unite the major satiric themes of the moral corruption of a slaveholding aristocracy and the detrimental effects of romantic literature. In the controversial conclusion, Twain resorts to a series of mistaken identities based on Tom's romantic reading in an attempt to draw the incipient tragedy back into the realm of comedy and farce. Twain's burlesque conclusion is partly
justified by his skillful use of the conventions of romance
to point up the genuine heroism and faithful friendship of
the Negro slave, Jim, and to re-inforce his satire on
romantic fiction.

I. The overall structure of Mark Twain's masterpiece, 
Huckleberry Finn, is very much like that of the conventional
switched-identity plots in The Prince and the Pauper, A
Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant. The
picaresque journey down the Mississippi is initiated by
Huck's fake murder to elude pursuit by the slaveholding
Southern society, represented by the "sivilization" of the
aristocratic Widow Douglas and the brutality of the poor-
white, Pap Finn. The mock murder functions like the change
of clothing between aristocrat and commoner in The Prince and
the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant, freeing the protagonist from the confinements of his old
identity and environment and permitting him to begin an
educational journey in a new identity, which radically
alters his former ideas. The plot of mistaken identity in
Huckleberry Finn, however, is much more complex than the
simple formula that Twain used as his structural principle in
The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The
American Claimant. The mistaken identity structure in
Huckleberry Finn becomes a symbolic pattern of the imagery
of death and rebirth, brilliantly inter-related with the major
themes of alienation and flight from civilization.² Having
staged his own murder to prevent pursuit, Huck is officially
dead on his journey down the river and is free to create a
new identity for himself whenever the need arises. His new
identities parallel his repeated ventures into shore society
and become a "rebirth" or an "initiation" in another
identity. The initiation always ends tragically when Huck
flees in horror back to the river after witnessing scenes
of violence, brutality, and death. The pattern of all the
episodes on shore is Huck's "rebirth" into society in a false
identity followed by his recurring flights from civiliza-
tion, which become a kind of death-wish. The imagistic
pattern of death and rebirth, which so well expresses the
themes of alienation and flight from civilization, adds
great complexity to the simple formula of the switched
identity plot and eliminates the usual obvious mechanical
contrivance.

As in The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee,
The American Claimant, and Pudd'nhead Wilson, the device of
mistaken identity also functions as a vehicle for satire
against slaveholding aristocracies. Huck's journey becomes
an incognito pilgrimage as he fabricates a new identity every
time the raft comes in contact with shore society. When he
returns to St. Petersburg to find out if he and Jim are
being pursued, he tries to pass himself off as Sarah Williams
and then as George Peters when the shrewd frontier woman,
Mrs. Loftus, sees through his feminine pose. To save the
murderers on the wrecked Walter Scott, he invents a fictitious family and the well-to-do Miss Hooker to entice the mercenary ferry man to attempt a rescue. When pressed by slave hunters whether his friend is white or black, Huck instinctively lies to save Jim and manufactures a family all sick of the smallpox to prevent the men from coming on board the raft. At the Grangerfords, he becomes the poor orphan lad down on his luck to appeal to the sentimental aristocrats. In the Wilks episode, the King, who is also glib with his tongue, christens him Adolphus, and Huck is metamorphosed into an English valet. He acquiesces in his new identity until he realizes the full significance of the planned exploitation of the Wilks girls. Then he decides to risk the truth to the sympathetic Mary Jane. He is Tom Sawyer at the Phelps farm when Aunt Sally mistakes him for her expected nephew, and Huck goes along with the mistaken identity so that he will have a chance to steal Jim out of slavery.

In all of his new identities Huck enters for a time into the feudal Southern society, and his necessary aliases are an implied condemnation of that society. Huck cannot risk the truth that he is helping a fellow human being to freedom, for according to the Southern way of thinking, Jim is valuable property and Huck's act of humanity is a circumvention of the sacred laws of property rights. Eric Soloman notes that Huck's lies are all moral in that they result from
the instinctive desire to protect Jim. His false identities are protective disguises designed to elude pursuit by the slaveholding shore society. Southern society cannot accept the simple truth of love and brotherhood between black and white on the raft, for it undermines the very foundation of its civilization—Negro slavery.

Huck's moral lies to save Jim are in sharp contrast to the fake identities of the King and Duke, which are intended to defraud the inhabitants of the backwoods settlements. But like the King and Duke, whose fraudulent impostures indicate their awareness of the sentimentality, gullibility, and cultural deficiencies of their victims, Huck shows in his autobiographical inventions that he has very well gauged the society along the shores of the great river. Huck, too, relies upon the sentimentality of the Southerners when he lets Mrs. Loftus mother him because she believes him to be a run-away apprentice and at the Grangerfords wins sympathy from the sentimental aristocrats in the identity of a poor orphan. He shows his awareness of the selfishness of human nature when he rightly appeals to the ferryboat man's greed and circumvents the slave hunters with the yarn about Pap and Mam and Mary Jane sick with the smallpox. Like the frauds pulled by the bogus royalty, Huck's exaggerated autobiographies, which as Henry Nash Smith observes are in the tradition of the western tall-tale, are usually believed, no matter how ridiculous they are. The implication is that
the sentimental, gullible, and greedy Southern society, blinded by its own fraudulent aristocratic posturings, can no longer distinguish between the true and the false. Huck's invented identities also reflect his experiences with life. The son of Pap Finn, who has grown up in daily contact with sudden crisis, disaster, and death, reveals his vision of life in the protective identities that he assumes in Southern society. A typical example is the autobiography he invents at the Grangerfords:

They all asked me questions, and I told them how pap and me and all the family was living on a little farm down at the bottom of Arkansas, and my sister Mary Ann run off and got married and never was heard of no more, and Bill went to hunt them and he warn't heard of no more, and Tom and Mort died, and then there warn't nobody but just me and pap left, and he was just trimmed down to nothing, on account of his troubles; so when he died I took what there was left, because the farm didn't belong to us, and started up the river, deck passage, and fell overboard; and that was how I got to be there.

Huck's vision of Southern life as a series of compounded catastrophes resulting ultimately in death is shown to be highly accurate when his invented autobiography proves a foreshadowing of the tragic events of the feud, brought on when Sophia Grangerford "run off and got married." Huck's tragic initiation into society at the Grangerford under a false identity is typical of all of his ventures into Southern society. When he observes the violence and brutality of the feud climaxed by the death of his friends, he flees
in horror back to the harmony and peace of the raft and the river. The ultimate condemnation of shore society is that it cannot offer refuge to the lonely boy.

As in The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant, the initial device of switched identities, forces the protagonist into an incognito journey that becomes a moral pilgrimage when the ideas instilled by his old environment are partly changed by his new experience in a different identity. Huck's fake murder precipitates his journey in disguise down the Mississippi, which becomes a moral pilgrimage in brotherly love when he meets "Nigger Jim." Officially dead to the Southern society that has so constrained him through its representatives, the aristocratic Widow Douglas and the poor-white Pap Finn, Huck in his initial flight from society impulsively rejects its teachings and seeks human companionship with the runaway Negro slave.

I was ever so glad to see Jim. I warn't lonesome now. ...People would call me a low-down Abolitionist and despise me for keeping mum, but that don't make no difference. I ain't a-going to tell, and I ain't a-going back there anyways.7

This first instinctive decision to help Jim in his quest for freedom is repeated twice more, as Twain ironically shows the powerful influences of training and environment on the individual, in the lonely outcast's recurring conflict between his innate humanity and his Southern trained conscience.
Ironically, Huck, who is "dead" and "ain't going back there anyways" and who has experienced brutality and violence in each of his trial identities in the slaveholding society, still clings to the Southern ideals of right conduct. When the raft approaches Cairo and the passage to the Free States, it suddenly comes "home" to Huck "what this thing was that I was doing." His Southern conscience tells him that Jim is private property and that by acquiescing in Jim's escape, he has become an accomplice in robbing Miss Watson of what rightfully belongs to her. Huck resolves that he will paddle ashore and tell, when Jim begins to talk about stealing his children out of slavery—"children that belonged to a man I didn't even know; a man that hadn't ever done me no harm." But when two slave traders draw near, Huck, with the vision of Jim before him on the raft, replies to their questions that his friend is white and prevents them from coming on board the raft with a fake identity and a fictitious family sick with smallpox. Richard P. Adams comments that unable to do entirely right in his choice of either abetting robbery or betraying his friend, Huck instinctively follows the dictates of his sound heart and decides to go on helping Jim.

Huck's final decision to repudiate his Southern training and steal Jim out of slavery after the King and the Duke have sold him to Uncle Silas, culminates his moral pilgrimage in brotherly love. His Southern conscience again speaks to
him of the awful consequences in store for "nigger" stealers. Twain parodies the Calvinistic idea of sudden conversion and criticizes the Southern version of religion, as Huck's conscience leads him to realization of sin, and he attempts to pray for the reformation of his character. The words will not come, and Huck finds out that he cannot pray a lie. To make his reformation good, he writes the traitorous note to Miss Watson and immediately experiences the joys of conversion. "I felt good and all washed clean of sin for the first time I had ever felt so in my life, and I knewed I could pray now." But as before, the vision of Jim on the raft intervenes, reminding him of his friendship for the Negro slave.

And I got to thinking over our trip down the river; and I see Jim before me all the time, in the day, and in the night-time, sometimes moonlight, sometimes storms, and we a floating along talking, and singing, and laughing. But somehow I couldn't seem to strike no places to harden me against him, but only the other kind. I'd see him standing my watch on top of his'n, stead of calling me, so I could go on sleeping; and see him how glad he was when I come back out of the fog; and when I come to him in the swamp, up there where the feud was; and such-like times; and would always call me honey, and pet me, and do everything he could think of for me, and how good he always was; and at last I struck the time I saved him by telling the men we had small-pox aboard, and he was so grateful, and said I was the best friend old Jim ever had in the world, and the only one he's got now; and then I happened to look around and see that paper.

It was a close place. I took it up, and held it in my hand. I was trembling, because I'd got to decide, forever, betwixt two things, and I knewed it. I studied a minute, sort of holding my breath, and then says to myself: 'All right, then, I'll go to hell'-- and tore it up.
Huck's friendship and love for the Negro slave ultimately win out over his Southern training when Huck chooses to remain forever outside the pale of Southern society by stealing his friend out of slavery.

Concurrent with the moral pilgrimage in brotherly love which involves an affirmation of humanity in Huck's decision to go to hell for Jim, is his almost total disillusionment with the values of society, represented by his final decision "to light out for the territory."\(^4\) Huck learns love and the meaning of friendship on the raft from "Nigger Jim" and simultaneously experiences the moral corruption of the slaveholding society every time that the raft touches the shore. He enters Southern society in a series of false identities, and each "initiation" ends tragically when he experiences the brutality of the slaveholding society and flees in horror back to the "community of saints\(^{15}\) on the raft. At the aristocratic Grangerfords, he is adopted into the hospitable family in his false identity of a poor orphan, but the violence of the blood feud and the cruel massacre of his friends, which he is forced to witness, drive him back to the river. What he has seen makes him physically and morally sick and leaves a deep and ineradicable impression. "I wished I hadn't ever come ashore that night to see such things. I ain't ever going to get shut of them—lots of times I dream about them."\(^{16}\) When the sanctuary of the raft is invaded by the feudal society in the form of the bogus
aristocrats, the King and the Duke, Huck indicates that he realizes the moral corruption of the slaveholding aristocracy. He does not tell Jim that the King and the Duke are frauds because "it wouldn't a done no good; and besides, it was just as I said; you couldn't tell them from the real kind." The tears and flapdoodle of the Wilks episode when the sentimental and gullible townspeople mistake the King and the Duke for the real heirs and Huck is forced to go along with the masquerade in the identity of the King's English valet is "enough to make a body ashamed of the human race." What Huck ultimately learns on the trip down the river is expressed in his condemnation of shore society after the King and the Duke are tarred and feathered and run out of Pikesville on a rail—"Human beings can be awful cruel to one another." His final realization of the cruelty and brutality of man in society leads to his decision at the end of the book when he is restored to his own identity "to light out for the Territory." The incognito journey down the Mississippi has resulted in complete disillusionment with the values of society.

II. In the characters of his bogus aristocrats, the King and the Duke, Twain treats on a burlesque level the romantic convention of the aristocrat in disguise, which he had used seriously as his main plot device in The Prince and the Pauper (1882) and was to treat seriously again in A Connecticut Yankee (1889) and The American Claimant (1892).
In *Huckleberry Finn* (1885), the burlesque of the romantic convention of the aristocrat in disguise similarly functions as a vehicle for satire against feudal aristocracies and additionally is employed to point up the detrimental effects of romantic literature. The King and the Duke, whose fraudulent impostures are motivated by the desire to fleece the gullible Mississippi inhabitants and to gain extra privileges from the easy-going Huck and Jim, become a kind of satiric touchstone against which the motives and romantic posturings of the supposedly genuine aristocrats are judged.

The advent of the fake aristocrats in disguise and the pose that the King assumes of the lost "dolphin," who "some says...got away, and come to America," is foreshadowed in the discussion between Huck and Jim after they find the romantic novels on the wrecked *Walter Scott*, "about kings and dukes and earls and such, and how gaudy they dressed, and how much style they put on, and called each other your majesty, and your grace, and your lordship, and so on, 'stead of mister." Adams notes that the passage points up all of the ramifications of Twain's satire against feudal aristocracies and romantic literature. The function of the *Walter Scott* brand of romance, according to Twain, is to glamorize the aristocratic exploiters of humanity as gallant heroes, when, as Huck realistically observes, kings actually "don't do nothing" but "hang around the harem," "fuss with parlyment," collect their thousand dollars a month, and
"when things is dull," whack heads off. The implication is that the feudal aristocracies of Europe and the ante-bellum South are really just robbers and cheats like the outlaws on the wrecked Walter Scott and the bogus King and Duke. The sins of feudal aristocrats inevitably calls to Twain's attention the effects of determining training and environment on behavior. Jim notes in his discussion of "Sollermun's" wisdom that the problem lies "in the way they're raised," as Twain has a little fun with his "Gospel" by putting it in the mouth of the simple Negro. Jim, who functions as Huck's better conscience on the trip down the river, is also a kind of "spiritual yardstick" against which the feudal aristocrats are measured. His genuine love for his children contrasts sharply with the aristocratic disregard for human life exhibited in Solomon's wisdom, and Jim is properly horrified at such brutality and cruelty.

The feudal shore society invades the raft when Huck's instinctive humanity leads him to offer refuge to the river con-men, who are being pursued by the angry townspeople whom they have gulled. To garner extra privileges from Huck and Jim, the two cheats attempt to pass themselves off as aristocrats. The younger man begins the fraudulent impostures, as Twain parodies the aristocrat-in-disguise convention and high-flown language of romance.

My great-grandfather, eldest son of the Duke of Bridgewater, fled to this country about the end of the last century, to breathe the pure air of freedom; married here, and died, leaving a son,
his own father dying about the same time. The second son of the late duke seized the title and estates—the infant real duke was ignored. I am the lineal descendant of that infant—I am the rightful Duke of Bridgewater; and here am I, forlorn, torn from my high estate, hunted of men, despised by the cold world, ragged, worn, heart-broken, and degraded to the companionship of felons on a raft.²⁸

Twain points up the fraud of the Duke's imposture when, not to be outdone, the older cheat informs "Bilgewater" that he "ain't the only person that's ben snaked down wrongfully out'n a high place."²⁹

Your eyes is lookin' at this very moment on the pore disappeared Dauphin, Looy the Seventeen, son of Looy Sixteen and Mary Antonette.³⁰

In order to deceive Huck and Jim, they have to recognize each other's fraudulent titles. Before the intrusion of the feudal slaveholding society in the form of the bogus aristocrats, there were no castes or distinctions of rank on the raft. "The community of saints,"³¹ composed of Huck and Jim, was based on brotherly love and equality, but with the coming of the fake aristocrats, all of the caste and rank distinctions of the feudal shore society are introduced. When the Duke tries to grab the better bed, the King calls him up short: "I should a reckoned the difference in rank would a sejisted to you that a corn-shuck bed worn't just fitten for me to sleep on. Your Grace'll take the shuck bed yourself."³² To get his own bogus title accepted, the Duke is ironically forced to acquiesce in the King's demands. Huck and Jim become servants to the frauds, and Jim is on a lower social
level in the new raft society than Huck because he is a Negro and a slave.

The satiric implications of the fake aristocrats are pointed to by Huck when he associates them with the sceptered frauds of Europe.

All Kings is mostly rapscallions, as fur as I can make out...If we'd a had (Henry the Eighth) along 'stead of our kings, he'd a fooled that town a heap worse thanourn done. I don't say that oun is lambs, because they ain't, when you come right down to the cold facts; but they ain't nothing to that old ram, anyway. All I say is, kings is kings, and you got to make allowances. Take them all around, they're a mighty ornery lot. It's the way they're raised.33

In the characters of the royal humbugs, all aristocrats are shown to be frauds and shams. Their pretensions to aristocracy, like those of the King and the Duke, are simply a means of gaining unearned privileges. All aristocrats are con-men and cheats who dupe the masses into kowtowing to them. The satire on romantic literature, which, according to Twain, deceives the feudal aristocrat into believing himself a gallant hero, is underscored in Twain's burlesque treatment of the romantic convention of the aristocrat in disguise. The aristocratic posturings of the river riffraff, which are so utterly ridiculous, are a devastating comment on the Emmeline Grangerford school of sentimental posturing, which comes before, and on the romantic role playing of Tom Sawyer, which follows.
James W. Gargano has noted that the fraudulent impostures which the King and the Duke practice on the witless inhabitants of the backwoods settlements are a vehicle for Twain's indictment of the gullibility and sentimentality of shore society. The King and the Duke have very well gauged "the damned human race" along the shores of the Mississippi and plan their false identities with an eye for appeal. At the Pokeville campmeeting, the King takes advantage of the hysteria and sentimentality of the crowd and walks off with the collection plate when he poses as a converted pirate. "He said it warn't no use talking, heathens don't amount to shucks, alongside of pirates, to work a campmeeting with." When Shakespeare flops in Arkansas, the Duke "sizes their style" and plans the next attraction to appeal to their predilection for the bawdy and the obscene. He gets a full house with the Royal Nonesuch, when he advertises that ladies and children will not be admitted. "'There,' says he, 'If that line don't fetch them, I don't know Arkansas.'" At Peter Wilks' funeral they take advantage of the sentimentality and gullibility of the town to defraud the Wilks girls out of their inheritance. When the more intelligent doctor sees through their impostures, the King is hardly worried, "Hain't we got all the fools in town on our side? and ain't that a big enough majority in any town?" Their fraudulent impostures serve to unmask the sins of their victims.
III. There has been much critical controversy over the ending of *Huckleberry Finn*, but the majority of critics conclude that the ending falls off into improvisation and farce as Twain attempts to draw his novel back from the inherent tragedy of the journey south into slave territory. Twain's improvisation and farce take the form of a series of mistaken identities, drawn from Tom's "Evasion" literature, as Huck masquerades as Tom, Tom plays his half-brother, Sid Sawyer, and Jim is cast in the role of the natural son of Louis XIV because his real identity as a Negro and a slave is too unromantic for an evasion in the royal manner as Tom envisions it. The final episode thus repeats the burlesque of the aristocrat-in-disguise convention in the passages dominated by the King and the Duke. Jim is just as ridiculous in the role of the disguised aristocrat as are the King and the Duke, but to the romantic imagination of Tom Sawyer, the incongruity is never evident. Twain's irony reaches deep human insight with Jim, who never really understands the heroic role that has been assigned to him, but simply trusts his young friends through a long series of physical indignities, the last of which is the final escape disguised as a woman. He finally emerges as the real hero of the book in his own identity when he shows genuine and unselfish heroism in giving up his freedom to save Tom. The Negro slave's act of genuine bravery becomes an implicit judgment on Tom Sawyer's romantic posturings just as the bogus
royalty of the King and the Duke implies the fraud and sham of all aristocratic pretension. Twain's burlesque conclusion to the incipient tragedy is partly justified by his skillful use of the conventions of romance to point up the real heroism and faithful friendship of the Negro slave and to re-inforce his satire on romantic literature.

The concluding episode is also partly justified in that it demonstrates the vast difference between the characters of Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer. When Huck allows himself to be mistaken for Tom at the Phelps farm, in his attempt to steal Jim out of slavery, the character difference is underscored to the great disadvantage of that respectable rebel, Tom Sawyer. The outcast Huck Finn playing the role of Tom Sawyer is Twain's final twist of irony, for the ideals of Tom Sawyer are so alien to those of Huck Finn. Twain's irony becomes increasingly evident when Tom himself appears on the scene and assumes the identity of his half-brother, Sid Sawyer, as a part of the great joke of the "Evasion." Tom, the avid reader of romance, insists that all of the rules and regulations of his "authorities" be observed in the rescue of Jim. He shows his juvenility and his moral blindness when he makes Jim's liberation the object of his romantic games. Although Huck goes along with Tom's schemes because he is confident that the ingenious Tom Sawyer will be able to come up with an effective plan to free Jim, he cannot understand how a boy with Tom's bringing up could steal a
"nigger" out of slavery. It finally becomes clear to Huck when Aunt Polly arrives and both boys resume their right identities, that Tom has been only pretending to be the rebel all along.

And his Aunt Polly she said Tom was right about old Miss Watson setting Jim free in her will; and so, sure enough, Tom Sawyer had gone and took all that trouble and bother to set a free nigger free! and I couldn't ever understand before, until that minute and that talk, how he could help a body set a nigger free with his bringing-up.41

Jim's liberation has been only a romantic game to Tom Sawyer, and Huck's words are an implicit condemnation of Tom's moral blindness. Huck himself never loses sight of the real issues from the moment that he makes his decision to go to Hell for Jim. He states his position straightforwardly to Tom:

There's a nigger here that I'm a trying to steal out of slavery, and his name is Jim—old Miss Watson's Jim...I know what you'll say. You'll say it's dirty, low-down business; but what if it is? I'm low down; and I'm a-going to steal him, and I want you to keep mum and not let on.42

There are no pretenses for Huck that Jim is an aristocrat in disguise ("What I want is my nigger...and I don't give a dead rat what the authorities thinks about it nuther"),43 and he is unaware that Jim has already been freed by Miss Watson's deathbed repentance. He knows that to be a "nigger-stealer" is to be forever the outcast in Southern society. The incognito journey down the river with the Negro slave has taught him that his values are not those of the slaveholding society, and he is true to the larger significance of his moral pilgrimage when he decides to flee once more,
"to light out for the Territory," when he is restored to his own identity.
CHAPTER THREE

PUDD'NHEAD WILSON

The plot of *Pudd'Nhead Wilson* also turns on the device of switched identities. As in *The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, The American Claimant,* and *Huckleberry Finn,* the switched identity device becomes a vehicle for satire against slaveholding aristocracies and an example illustrating the effects of environment and training on behavior.

Brought forth from a slight farce about Siamese twins by Twain's "literary Caesarian operation,"¹ *Pudd'Nhead Wilson* embodies what Kenneth S. Lynn has termed the twinhood theme, a variation of the switched identity motif. Functioning symbolically in the novel, the twin theme comes to represent the bond of brotherhood between the races. It becomes the moral touchstone against which the crime of slavery is judged. Repeated with variations in all three of the parallel plots, it additionally serves as a unifying principle. Twain's satire achieves a degree of restraint uncommon in his writing as a result of the sustained use of irony made possible partly by the inherent contrast of appearance and reality in the plot of switched identities. *Pudd'Nhead Wilson* is also in part the detective thriller. The inherent confusion of appearance and reality in the switched identity plot and the possibility that it offers for dramatic unraveling make it readily adaptable to the suspense requirements
of the detective story.

The plot of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is in three parallel strands, dominated respectively by Roxy and her son, "Tom Driscoll," who are "as white as anybody" but "by fiction of law and custom" are Negroes and therefore slaves, by Pudd'nhead Wilson, cynical and truth-seeking philosopher from the outside world, and by the Capello twins, romantic adventurers who stop for a while in the Missouri Village of Dawson's Landing. The Roxy-Tom Driscoll plot, which illustrates Twain's inter-related themes of slavery as the ultimate crime against the individual and the effect of training and environment on behavior, is the major action, and is initiated by the exchange of master and slave in the cradle by Roxy, to save her child from the threatened doom of being sold down the river. As in *The Prince and the Pauper*, *A Connecticut Yankee*, and *The American Claimant*, the change from aristocrat to slave is effected by a mere change of clothing. When Roxy exchanges her own child's tow-linen shirt for the ruffled soft muslin of the Driscoll heir, he becomes the master for all practical purposes. No one can tell that an exchange has been made. Aristocracy which rests on such a flimsy basis is shown to be utter nonsense. The Southern definition of Negro and slave is similarly a monstrous fiction since the Negro slave, Valet de Chambre, with his blue eyes and flaxen curls is indistinguishable from the son of the aristocratic master.
The exchange would be a fait accompli for all time if it were not for the truth-seeking Pudd'nhead Wilson and his fingerprinting hobby.

Roxy ironically justifies her crime by citing the unarguable precedent to the Negro mind "that white folks has done it." The great white Calvinistic god, who to the Southerner has elected the white man to the position of master and doomed the black man to lifelong slavery, is an appropriate example to point to. Roxy in her ingenuous synopsis of the tenets of Calvinism ironically shows the absurdity of such a conception of God.

He do jis' as he's a mineter. He s'lect out anybody dat suit him, en put another one in his place, en make de fust one happy forever en leave t'other one to burn wid Satan.5

Twain has a little fun at the expense of his own favorite plot device when Roxy notes the precedent of switched identities in the romantic literature of royalty and its doings, which the aristocratic Southerner associated himself with. As it has been related to her by a literate Negro preacher from Illinois, "the biggest quality in de whole bilin' have done it--kings.

De queen she lef'her baby layin' roun' one day, en went out callin'; en one o' de niggers roun' 'bout de place dat was 'mos' white, she come in en she see de chile layin' aroun', en tuck en put her own chile's clo'es on de queen's chile, en put de queen's chile's clo'es on her own chile, en den lef' her own chile layin' aroun' en tuck en toted de Queen's chile home to de nigger quarter, en nobody ever foun' it out, en her chile was de king bimeby, en sole de queen's chile down de river one time when dey had to settle up de estate. Dah, now--de preacher said it his own self, en it ain't no sin, 'ca' se white folks done it.
Dey done it—yes, dey done it; en not on'y jis' common white folks nuther, but de biggest quality dey is in de whole bilin'. Oh, I's so glad I 'member 'bout dat!

Twain ironically undercuts his own plot device by associating it with the romantic cliché of changelings in the cradle. According to Twain, romantic literature, "redolent of royalty and state and style," was partly responsible for fostering the aristocratic pretensions of the Southern planter and for creating the myth of white supremacy. It is ironically appropriate that the whole framework of Southern society—the idea of white supremacy and the institution of slavery itself—should be called into question when the Negro slave girl, Roxy, adopts the romantic cliché of changelings in the cradle to save her child from being sold down the river. The aristocratic Southerners are shown to be inhumane and brutal when the simple Roxy interprets the romantic story that she has heard in the light of her own experience with these aristocrats. Her version of the aristocratic queen mother, who leaves her child "layin' aroun'" in the care of a black nurse while she is out calling, is colored by her knowledge of the careless ways of Southern ladies. Her own intense mother love is in sharp contrast. Her stoic acceptance of the inevitable fate of being sold down the river is an ironic indictment of the brutality and inhumanity of slavery. Twain's final irony is in Roxy's words "Dey done it." The real crime is that of slavery. Roxy is more sinned against than sinning. Percy
Northumberland Driscoll, the epitome of the Southern aristocrat in his brutality and his moral blindness, provides the motivating force with his threat to sell his slaves down the river—the innocent along with the guilty for the commission of a petty theft. Miscegenation, tacitly permitted within the framework of slavery, is responsible for the very being and appearance of Roxy and her one-thirty-second black child and ironically it insures the success of her plans.

James M. Cox notes that the one-thirty-second black Valet de Chambre who crosses the color line to become "Marse" Tom Driscoll through his mother's machinations becomes a symbol of the underlying reality of racial and sexual guilt at the heart of slavery. The product of the aggressive sexual acts of the white masters on their black mistresses, he is the living representative of the violation of the individual by slavery and its inevitable corollary, miscegenation. His native malevolence finds its fated target when he learns from Roxy his true identity.

He said to himself that if his father were only alive and in reach of assassination his mother would soon find that he had a very clear notion of the size of his indebtedness to that man, and was willing to pay it up in full, and would do it too, even at risk of his life.

His real father being dead, he strikes out instinctively as his foster father, Judge Driscoll, the upholder of law and order and the Southern code of honor. The murder of Judge
Driscoll is part of the ironic contrast between appearance and reality that Twain maintains throughout the book. The white aristocrats appear to be honorable men in their strict observance of the laws of the land and the code duello, but the reality is the crime of slavery and miscegenation. Tom Driscoll is the nemesis of retribution in his instinctive act of vengeance against the white masters whose casual lusts with their Negro slaves have given him being.

The careers of Tom Driscoll and Valet de Chambre in their switched roles illustrate the effects of environment and training on behavior. Both boys are an example of Pudd'nhead Wilson's maxim that "training is everything... cauliflower is nothing but a cabbage with a college education." The determining environment for each is slavery. In addition, the pseudo-Tom Driscoll illustrates Twain's corollary theory of the influence of native temperament or heredity on the man. As it is stated in his "Gospel," training and inborn temperament are responsible for all of a man's actions. "Tom Driscoll's" inherent brutality and cowardice are re-inforced by his training as a white master. "Petted and spoiled and indulged," first by Roxy and "his father" and later by the doting Judge and Mrs. Driscoll, his native bent is allowed to run its full course to tragedy. As a child his first words are "Awnt it" (want it), "Hab it," and "Take it." Early he learns that Chambers is his slave and
cannot hit back. He beats the boy unmercifully and then pits him against his own enemies among the white boys. Ironically Chambers fights himself to such a formidable reputation "that Tom could have changed clothes with him, and 'ridden in peace' like Sir Kay in Launcelot's armor." The brutality and moral depravity of his innate nature re-inforced by his aristocratic training is best shown when he attacks Chambers with his pen-knife in a fit of anger for not fighting a group of boys who have christened Chambers "Tom Driscoll's nigger pappy." His cold-blooded brutality is like that of that other heartless aristocrat in A Connecticut Yankee, Morgan le Fay, and is similarly the result of slaveowning heredity and environment. The idle life and spendthrift ways of the aristocrat naturally lead Tom into the evil habits of drunkenness and gambling as a young man, and finally, to cover up his sins from his uncle, to burglary and murder. The aristocratic creed of want it, have it, and take it, combined with his inherent brutality, ultimately prove his undoing when his real identity is discovered in connection with Pudd'nhead Wilson's investigation of Judge Driscoll's murder, and he is sold down the river as a slave.

The aristocratic and white, real Tom Driscoll, who is reared in the slave quarter as Roxy's son Chambers, illustrates only the environment and training aspects of Twain's determinism. He is docile and humble because of the convincing canings that he received from "the man who was his
father and didn't know it" on the three occasions that he overstepped the barrier between master and slave and returned his young master's blows. His speech, his manners, and his thoughts are those of the Negro slave because of determining environment and training. For Twain's satiric thesis, the real Tom Driscoll illustrates that it is training and environment which make the man and not inherent aristocracy or the natural superiority of the white race. Twain's thesis is brought out most clearly in the ironic conclusion when the real heir is restored to his inheritance through Pudd'nhead Wilson's ingenuity and his own truth-revealing fingerprints.

The real heir suddenly found himself rich and free, but in a most embarrassing situation. He could neither read nor write, and his speech was the basest dialect of the negro quarter. His gait, his attitudes, his gestures, his bearing, his laugh—all were vulgar and uncouth; his manners were the manners of a slave. Money and fine clothes could not mend these defects or cover them up; they only made them the more glaring and the more pathetic. The poor fellow could not endure the terrors of the white man's parlor, and felt at home and at peace nowhere but in the kitchen. The family pew was a misery to him, yet he could nevermore enter the solacing refuge of the 'nigger gallery'—that was closed to him for good and all.

Twain's treatment of determinism in the switched identities of the Negro slave and the aristocratic master becomes unintentionally confusing when he introduces his theory that inborn nature is partly responsible for a man's actions. The false Tom Driscoll, who is brought up as the aristocratic white master, illustrates that native temperament as well as
determining training and environment make the man, whereas the real Tom Driscoll, reared in the slave quarter, shows in his character only the effects of the training and environment of slavery. However, there is enough ambivalence in the characterizations to lead such an usually astute critic as Gladys Bellamy to comment on Twain's "theme of innate depravity embodied in the colored man."17 Surely this could not have been Twain's meaning when one remembers his sympathetic portrait of the faithful Jim in Huckleberry Finn and recalls Livy's admonition to "consider every man colored until he is proved white."18 Howells records an incident that bears on the problem of determinism in Pudd'nhead Wilson:

About that time a colored cadet was expelled from West Point for some conduct 'unbecoming an officer and gentleman'...The man was fifteen parts white, but 'Oh yes,' Clemens said with bitter irony, 'It was the one part black that undid him. It made him a 'nigger' and incapable of being a gentleman. It was to blame for the whole thing.'19

The false Tom Driscoll is a coward and a brute by nature and his training as a white master fosters his inherent baseness. He attempts to kill Chambers because of his physical superiority (the result of the hard, physical labor of slavery); he sells his mother down the river; he insults the Capello twins and then refuses to uphold the aristocratic code of honor; and he finally commits robbery and murders Judge Driscoll. But it is not the one-thirty-second "nigger" in him which Twain "with bitter irony" has Roxy attribute his cowardice to that makes him what he is. After all his white blood far
outweighs his black blood and is mostly responsible for his native temperament. Twain's deterministic thesis is not so clear as it might have been because he does not explore the effects of heredity in the character of the real Tom Driscoll who is brought up as Roxy's son Chambers. "Chambers" appears only very briefly as he shambles to and from the slave quarter with his "nigger" speech and his loud guffaw, illustrating the environmental half of Twain's determinism.

The effects of environment and training are also presented in the characterization of Roxy. Florence B. Leaver notes that "she is as much a victim of tradition and prejudice as is Judge Driscoll with his Virginia code of honor." She is always conscious of the gradations of racial caste. She holds herself superior to the coal black Jasper, who would like to come courting, and is proud of her F. F. V. (First Families of Virginia) paramour. When she forces the false Tom to get down on his knees to her, she taunts him: "Fine nice young white gen'l'man kneelin' down to a nigger wench! I's wanted to see dat jis' once befo' I's called. Now Gabr'el blow de hawn, I's ready." She is only reflecting the Southern myth of the innate superiority of the white man over the Negro when she attributes the pseudo-Tom's cowardice in not upholding the code of honor to the "nigger in him."

It's de nigger in you, dat's what it is. Thirty-one parts o' you is white, en on'y one part nigger, en dat po' little one part is yo' soul. 'Tain't
wuth savin'; 'tain't wuth totin' out on a shovel
en throwin' in de gutter. You has disgraced yo'
birth. What would yo' pa think o' you? It's
enough to make him turn in his grave. 22

Perhaps one of the greatest ironies in a book filled with
ironies is that the Negro slave, Roxy, who has suffered so
much from the injustices of slavery, should adopt the
standards of the quality white folks as her own highest
ideals of honor and take for granted that her own race is
base and depraved. For Twain's deterministic thesis, she
illustrates that training and environment shape the ideals
of the individual.

The two sub-plots in Pudd'nhead Wilson, pertaining to
Pudd'nhead and the Capello twins, serve as additional
comments on the satire against slavery in the main plot
through the symbolic use of what Kenneth S. Lynn has termed
the twinhood theme—a variation of the switched identity
theme. 23 The twin theme, repeated in all three plot strands,
comes to represent the bond of brotherhood between the races.
The symbolism is adumbrated in the slight farce about Siamese
twins out of which Pudd'nhead Wilson developed. In "Those
Extraordinary Twins," the twin theme is a reflection of
Twain's lifelong interest in dual personality. Angelo and
Luigi Capello are diametrically opposed personalities in-
habiting the same body. Angelo is a Methodist, a Whig, and a
teetotaler; Luigi, a Free-Thinker, a Democrat, and a drunkard.
Yet they have managed to establish a working arrangement where-
by each has control of the body for a week at a time. Each
twin patiently endures the eccentricities of his brother until it is his turn to have control of the legs. The well-being of one brother is absolutely essential to that of the other. When Luigi is hanged for committing a crime, the innocent Angelo inevitably dies also. The humorous moral of their story is that you cannot hang the guilty half of a Siamese twin without necessarily finishing off the innocent half as well. By their inseparable duality, the twins suggest the bond of brotherhood between all men.

Although most of their story has been deleted from Pudd'nhead Wilson by Twain's "literary Caesarian operation," some of their symbolic function remains. Angelo recites the tale to Pudd'nhead of Luigi's bravery in killing a burglar who was about to take Angelo's life, and Luigi replies to Pudd'nhead's praise of his unselfish heroism:

Now come...it is very pleasant to hear you say these things, but for unselfishness, or heroism, or magnanimity, the circumstances won't stand scrutiny. You overlook one detail; suppose I hadn't saved Angelo's life, what would have become of mine? If I had let the man kill him, wouldn't he have killed me, too? I saved my own life you see.

Angelo's story and Luigi's subsequent remarks point up the mutual brotherhood between all men. Each man should be his brother's keeper, if only for selfish reasons. A man cannot stand by and let "his brother" be injured in any way because by doing so he acquires a burden of moral guilt that eventually destroys him as well. The story of "selfish" heroism
in the sub-plot thus becomes a comment on the theme of slavery as the ultimate crime that one man can perpetrate against another, which dominates the main action devoted to Roxy and the real and false Tom Driscolls.

The Pudd'nhead Wilson sub-plot, introduced in the form of a joke about killing half a twin-monster, also serves as a comment on the theme of slavery in the main plot. Settling in the small Missouri village of Dawson's Landing after completing his legal education in the East, the young lawyer, David Wilson, makes the fatal blunder of attempting a witticism on the staid villagers. When he hears a dog barking, Wilson says, "'wish I owned half that dog.' 'Why?' somebody asked. 'Because I would kill my half.'" Young Wilson's joke is misunderstood by the Missouri villagers, who have no sense of humor, and he is dubbed a pudd'nhead and a fool. His legal career is ruined in spite of his competency, and he is forced to while away his time with his eccentric hobbies of palm reading and fingerprint collecting.

Lynn indicates that Pudd'nhead Wilson's misunderstood joke about killing half a twin-monster gives another dimension to the satiric theme of slavery in the Roxy-Tom Driscoll plot. Roxy's child, Chambers, who is one-thirty-second Negro and therefore by "law and custom" a Negro and a slave, and the white and aristocratic little Driscoll heir look so much alike that no one but Roxy can tell them apart except by their clothes. Sitting face to face in the little wagon, "their
resemblance to a twin-monster is sufficient to recall to mind Pudd'nhead Wilson's joke of a few pages before. 'I wish I owned half that dog.' Can a man really 'own' another living being? If you 'own' the black half of a black-and-white baby wagon, can you shoot it or maim it in any way, without hurting the white half as well? Is the human race any more divisible than a dog?"\(^{29}\)

The implied answer in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, of course, is no. Twain's symbolic use of the twin theme illustrates the inexorable bond between the races. If you destroy half of a twin-monster, you inevitably destroy the other half as well. Slavery is a disease which destroys master and slave alike. To make a slave of the black half of a black-and-white baby wagon, is necessarily to corrupt the morality of the white half. The twin theme, which represents the bond of brotherhood between the races, functions as the moral touchstone against which the crime of slavery is judged.

James M. Cox points out that the joke that initiates Wilson's career is a forecast of the role that he is to play in the novel.\(^{30}\) He proposes for himself the job of finding and killing the invisible dog that is disturbing the peace of the community. When he discovers through his catalog of fingerprints that Tom Driscoll is in reality the slave Valet de Chambre and also the murderer of Judge Driscoll, his comment significantly echoes the initial joke about killing half a dog. "It is no lie to say I am sorry I have to begin with you,
miserable dog though you are." Pudd'nhead's career thus comes full circle, and his early comment stands justified. With his discovery of Tom Driscoll's crime, his career is made. The discovery of the "invisible dog" necessarily elevates him in the eyes of Dawson's Landing and removes the stigma of pudd'nhead. Cox notes that Pudd'nhead is guilty when he sends Tom down the river. As the outsider, from the North, "his participation in the crime of the slaveholding community on the banks of the Mississippi extends the import of the novel beyond the South to the nation at large." Twain's satire against slavery achieves a degree of restraint that is uncommon in his writing as a result of the sustained use of irony, made possible by the inherent contrast of appearance and reality in the plot of switched identities. Anne P. Wigger has admirably shown that the major characters and themes are all a reflection of the ironic contrast between appearance and reality. The story unfolds against the ironic backdrop of the South's peculiar institution. The ironic tone is established in the first paragraph when Twain undercuts his description of white washed houses and white paling fences shining in the sunlight with the ominous announcement that Dawson's Landing is a slaveholding town. The "white" town appears to be a scene of bliss, peace, and prosperity but the underlying reality is a heart of darkness—Negro slavery with all that it implied for Twain the former Southerner—brutality, miscegenation, and
moral depravity. Its moral perceptions blunted by daily contact with slavery, the town judges only by outward appearances, except, ironically, in the case of the Negro. The mulatto Roxy and her son, who appear to be "as white as anybody," are considered to be Negroes and slaves "by a fiction of law and custom." The switched identity device provides Twain his masterstroke of irony. The one-thirty-second Negro, Roxy's son, Chambers, and the white and aristocratic Tom Driscoll look so much alike that Roxy's exchange of the babies goes undetected by the town. The greatest irony of all—for Twain's plot centers on the false Tom Driscoll—is that the one who appears to be the master is in reality the slave. He is accepted and looked up to as a member of the "First Families," but when his true origin is discovered by Pudd'nhead Wilson in the ironic conclusion, the town regards it as "unquestionably right" to sell him down the river as a slave, for his commercial value makes it a moral crime against his creditors to lock him up for life. The ironic position of the real Tom Driscoll at the conclusion of the story, a white trained for the Southern role of the abject "nigger," is an indictment of racial prejudice and slavery as the ultimate crimes against the individual.

In a sense, the overall framework of Pudd'nhead Wilson is that of the detective story. Twain notes in a letter to his publisher:
The whole story is centered on the murder and the trial; from the first chapter the movement is straight ahead without divergence or side play to the murder and the trial; everything that is done or said or that happens is a preparation for those events.

The detective story framework serves as a unifying device in that the three parallel plots pertaining to Roxy and "Tom Driscoll," Pudd'nhead Wilson, and the Capello twins converge in the climax of the murder and the trial. The switched identity plot of the major action, which carries the main burden of Twain's satire against slavery and his theories of determinism, is made to do double duty as it is adapted to the suspense requirements of the "who done it" thriller. The inherent confusion of appearance and reality in the switched identity plot and the possibility that it offers for dramatic unraveling make it also a natural vehicle for the detective story. Pudd'nhead Wilson assumes the role of the intelligent detective who shows up the stupidity of the town and its police powers. With his superior intelligence and his fingerprint collection, he sees through the series of disguises concealing Tom Driscoll's real identity and exposes him in the dramatic court room scene as the murderer of Judge Driscoll and the Negro slave, Valet de Chambre. Tom Driscoll becomes the melodramatic villain—the seemingly respectable young heir who is in reality an impostor and a murderer to boot. Luigi Capello is the innocent accused on circumstantial evidence who is saved at the last minute by the introduction of new evidence that proves his innocence. The characterization in
Pudd'nhead Wilson thus suffers from the stereotype character conventions of the detective story. The fingerprints, although they may have been "absolutely fresh, and mighty curious and interesting to everybody," as Twain boasted to his publisher, are too much of the gimmick and the deus ex machina to be convincing. The court trial is all melodrama as Pudd'nhead Wilson, like Tom Sawyer in Tom Sawyer, Detective, strives for his effects. Although it provides a means of revealing identities and of unifying the diverse plot strands, the detective story frame almost reduces to farce a book that contains a brilliant ironic treatment of slavery and determinism.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE MYSTERIOUS STRANGER

Mark Twain's posthumously published *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916) is an allegory illustrating "the intellectual process of a man thinking through to the final solution of a baffling problem,"¹ and the device of mistaken identity functions on both the allegorical and psychological-philosophical levels of the narrative action as a vehicle for Twain's theories of determinism and for his condemnation of the human race. In the climactic last chapter, Satan-Philip Traum reveals to his star pupil, Theodor Fischer, and to the reader that the action that has gone before in the novel has all taken place within the mind of Theodor. "It was a vision—it had no existence."² E. S. Fussell points out that the action of the narrative is symbolic of Theodor's progressive realizations of the true nature of the universe.³ Satan represents Theodor's own mental processes; he is mind, intuition, coming to the awareness that the absurdity of a meaningless universe is impossible except in a dream.

On the allegorical level of the narrative action, Dixon Wecter has noticed that the Mysterious Stranger, Satan-Philip Traum, for Twain's purposes of "high celestial irony" is a kind of aristocrat in disguise.⁴ He tells the admiring boys that he is an angel and the nephew and namesake of the fallen arch-angel, Satan, who is now ruler of the underworld and prince of
the devils. "It is a good family--ours,...there is not a better. He is the only member of it that has ever sinned." However, Satan wishes to keep his real identity concealed so that he may better observe the eccentricities of humanity. He tells the boys that he will be known among the inhabitants of Esseldorf (Assville) as Philip Traum, which means dream in German and is one of Twain's "dream-marks" fore-shadowing the solipsistic conclusion when Satan is revealed as a creature of Theodor's imagination and the universe is reduced to a grotesque dream. Twain uses the device of the aristocrat in disguise for "high celestial irony" as Satan invents a fake autobiography for the benefit of the citizens of Esseldorf. Satan tells Marget that he is an orphan but that he has an uncle in business down in the tropics, who is very well off and has a monopoly, and that it is from this uncle that he draws his support. Some people even call his uncle a prince, out of compliment, "but he is not bigoted; to him personal merit is everything, rank nothing," and Satan is sure that he will be good friends with Ursula, Marget's housekeeper. Satan is like Milton's protean Satan in Paradise Lost, as he submerges himself in various human identities to do the human race an occasional favor. He possesses the astrologer's identity and makes him commit blasphemy in order to save Marget and her household from coming under suspicion of being familiars with the Devil. To save Father Peter from unjust conviction, he enters the
identity of Wilhelm Meidling and proves the good priest's innocence with his superior intelligence. Later, to amuse Theodor, he becomes a supernaturally talented magician and shows off in front of the jugglers of India by creating a magic tree that bears assorted fruits.

Satan's role is threefold in the allegory. As the celestial aristocrat in disguise, he is Twain's satiric observer who comments on the follies and sins of that peculiar species, mankind. He is thus the mouthpiece for Twain's misanthropy. He is also Theodor's mentor in disillusionment, who explicates Twain's theory of determinism and describes a kind of inverted chain of being resulting from man's possession of the Moral Sense. Combining as he does the creative and destructive attributes pertaining in the traditional conception respectively to God and Satan, he illustrates in his person the total indifference of deity.

Satan's role of the celestial aristocrat in disguise who observes and comments on the sins of mankind is like that of his unfallen uncle in "Letters from the Earth," who visits the newly created Earth and cynically writes home to Michael and Gabriel describing the peculiarities of the human species. The satiric device of the "foreign" visitor from a more civilized land who comments on his observations of an alien culture is a conventional device of satire, and Twain's The Mysterious Stranger is related to those eighteenth century tales of instruction and delight, Swift's Gulliver's Travels
and Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*. Twain, of course, with typical ingenuity adapts the traditional device for his own satiric purposes of showing the human race in all of its selfishness and cruelty when motivated by the Moral Sense. Like the journeys of Twain's other disguised aristocrats, Satan's incognito travels around the earth as Philip Traum provide Twain a wide scope to display the sins of humanity. Satan becomes Twain's mouthpiece for vilification of "the damned human race" when he enlightens his pupil, Theodor Fischer, who accompanies him on his travels, about man's peculiar possession, the Moral Sense.

Satan, with his supernatural powers, takes Theodor inside the jail where Father Peter is imprisoned, and they see the Moral Sense at work. A man is being tortured by the examiners because he has been accused of heresy. The spectacle makes Theodor physically sick, and he comments that it was a brutal thing. Satan, in his role of misanthropist, retaliates, describing Twain's inverted chain of being.

No, it was a human thing. You should not insult the brutes by such a misuse of that word; they have not deserved it...It is like your paltry race—always lying, always claiming virtues which it hasn't got, always denying them to the higher animals, which alone possess them. No brute ever does a cruel thing—that is the monopoly of those with the Moral Sense. When a brute inflicts pain he does it innocently; it is not wrong; for him there is no such thing as wrong. And he does not inflict pain for the pleasure of inflicting it—only man does that. Inspired by that mongrel Moral Sense of his! A sense whose function is to
distinguish between right and wrong with liberty
to choose which of them he will do. Now what
advantage can he get out of that? He is always
choosing, and in nine cases out of ten he prefers
the wrong. There shouldn't be any wrong; and
without the Moral Sense there couldn't be any. And
yet he is such an unreasoning creature that he is
not able to perceive that the Moral Sense degrades
him to the bottom layer of animated beings and is
a shameful possession.10

To re-inforce his argument and to include the nineteenth
century in his condemnation as well as the sixteenth, Twain
has Satan take Theodor to a French village where they view the
factory system and the suffering of the employees caused by
long hours, poor working conditions, and starvation wages.

Satan, Twain's spokesman, tells Theodor that it is some more
Moral Sense.

You have seen how they treat a misdoer there in
the jail; now you see how they treat the innocent
and the worthy. Is your race logical? Are these
ill-smelling innocents better off than that heretic?
Indeed, no; his punishment is trivial compared with
theirs. They broke him on the wheel and smashed
him to rags and pulp after we left, and he is dead
now, and free of your precious race; but these poor
slaves here—why, they have been dying for years,
and some of them will not escape from life for years
to come. It is the Moral Sense which teaches the
factory proprietors the difference between right and
wrong—you perceive the result. They think them¬
selves better than dogs. Ah, you are such an il¬
logical, unreasoning race! And paltry—oh, un¬
speakably!"ll

Satan as satiric observer of mankind is perhaps best seen
in the episode in which a superstitious mob, motivated by the
Moral Sense, hangs a charitable lady who cured people by wash¬
ing them and nourishing them instead of the usual barber
surgeon methods. Theodor reports that he threw a stone at her,
"although in my heart I was sorry for her; but all were throwing stones and each was watching his neighbor, and if I had not done as the others did it would have been noticed and spoken of." Satan bursts out laughing. He tells Theodor that he is not only laughing at his moral weakness but at the sheep-like conformity of the whole mob when led by the "half-men" Mueller, Klein, and Pfeiffer. Satan resembles Colonel Sherburn, that other aristocrat in *Huckleberry Finn*, as he denounces conformity and moral cowardice and expresses Twain's hope in "the transcendent figure" with enough courage to stand out against the mob.

There were sixty-eight people there, and sixty-two of them had no more desire to throw a stone than you had...I know your race. It is made up of sheep. It is governed by minorities, seldom or never by majorities. It suppresses its feelings and its beliefs and follows the handful that makes the most noise. Sometimes the noisy handful is right, sometimes wrong; but no matter, the crowd follows it...Some day a handful will rise up on the other side and make the most noise--perhaps even a single daring man with a big voice and a determined front will do it--and in a week all the sheep will wheel and follow him, and witch-hunting will come to an end.

Henry Nash Smith has noted that the later Twain, from Colonel Sherburn and Abner Shackleford in *Huckleberry Finn* (1885) through Satan in *The Mysterious Stranger* (1902-1908), takes refuge in the transcendent figure, the satiric observer of mankind devoid of pity and guilt, who can denounce the human race for its cowardice and cruelty, and perhaps even take action against it.
Albert E. Stone has observed that the focus of Twain's novel is divided between Satan-Philip Traum, who is ostensibly the main character, and Theodor Fischer, his star pupil.

It speedily becomes clear that all of Traum's actions are not only perceived through Theodor's mind but are directed toward illuminating that Ishmael-like mind with a sense of the true nature of things. What is happening is a cosmic initiation with Theodor as the neophyte and Philip Traum as the master of ceremonies. Twain presents his version of the Faustian theme as Theodor Fischer comes under the intellectual guidance of Satan and becomes progressively disillusioned with man, his civilization, and the deity, and finally realizes the absurdity of a meaningless universe. Satan-Philip Traum is Theodor's mentor in disillusionment as he takes him on educational journeys to see the workings of the Moral Sense, explicates Twain's theory of determinism, illustrates the fallacy of human progress in civilization, and exemplifies the complete indifference of deity. Satan's preachments against the Moral Sense and vilification of mankind have already been mentioned under his role of satiric observer. It is only necessary to note that Theodor's moral pilgrimages resulting in disillusionment are adumbrated in the educational journeys of Twain's protagonists in The Prince and the Pauper (1882), Huckleberry Finn (1885), A Connecticut Yankee (1889), and The American Claimant (1892). Twain's pessimism appears quite early, and cannot be all attributed to the financial disasters and family deaths of the last years.
Satan instructs Theodor in determinism with the example of a game familiar to all boys:

Among you boys you have a game: you stand a row of bricks on end a few inches apart; you push a brick, it knocks its neighbor over, the neighbor knocks over the next brick—and so on till all the row is prostrate. That is human life. A child's first act knocks over the initial brick, and the rest will follow inexorably. If you could see into the future, as I can, you would see everything that was going to happen to that creature; for nothing can change the order of its life after the first event has determined it. That is, nothing will change it, because each act unfailingly begets an act, that act begets another, and so on to the end, and the seer can look forward down the line and see just when each act is to have birth, from cradle to grave.17

To Theodor's question, does God foreordain man's life, Satan replies no. "The man's circumstances and environment order it. His first act determines the second and all that follow after."18 The conflict between moralism and determinism that Gladys Bellamy has pointed out in Mark Twain's fiction appears most prominently in *The Mysterious Stranger*.19 Satan, as Twain's mouthpiece, presents both sides of Twain's contrary views. Satan, the moralist, rages against the human race that knows good and evil and always chooses the evil; and Satan, the determinist, denies that man is a free agent and lays the blame to determining circumstances and environment. The confusion of thought which is reflected in *The Mysterious Stranger* also appears in the moral pilgrimages of *The Prince and the Pauper, Huckleberry Finn, A Connecticut Yankee,* and *The American Claimant* where changed circumstances and environment lead the protagonists to moral awareness and responsibility.
Satan stages two instructive miracles for his boy pupils to exemplify the complete indifference of deity and to repudiate the fallacious idea of man's progress in society. For the boys' amusement and instruction, he creates a miniature civilization of tiny men and women, and when they disturb him with their noisy quarreling, he swats them with a board as if they were flies. Fussell notes that the horrified boys are able to see in one vision both creator and creation and to comprehend the total indifference of the deity and the absurdity of the human situation. The unreality of the microcosm is the type of the macrocosm and is one of Twain's "dream-marks," which foreshadows Satan's ultimate revelation that the universe is a grotesque dream. The solipsistic conclusion is also prepared for in Satan's visionary history of the progress of the human race. Like the archangel, Michael, in Milton's _Paradise Lost_, Satan stages the history of man from the first murder of Abel by Cain through the consecutive bloody wars of history but with far different purposes in mind. Satan's object lesson is that man, who is corrupted by the Moral Sense, does not progress through his institutions. All of his efforts at civilization end in war and destruction. Satan disillusiones the boys just as Twain himself had become disillusioned with man's progress in society. The faith in technology and democratic institutions which is apparent in the earlier _A Connecticut Yankee_ (1889) has given
place to the complete cynicism of *The Mysterious Stranger* (1902-1903).

On the psychological-philosophical level of the narrative action, Satan represents Theodor's reasoning faculties and his intuition coming to the awareness that the absurdity of a meaningless universe is impossible except in a dream. Satan points to this interpretation when he reveals to Theodor that he is his dream and the creature of his imagination and that nothing exists except his thought. The narrative events that have gone before, are symbolic of Theodor's progressive realizations of the absurdity of the human predicament. Each revelation of Satan or reason results in gradual disillusionment and prepares for the ultimate disillusionment that all is a grotesque dream. The "dream-marks" have been present at each stage of realization as Satan indicates when he summarizes his revelations to Theodor.

Strange! that you should not have suspected years ago--centuries, ages, eons, ago!--for you have existed, companionless, through all the eternities. Strange, indeed, that you should not have suspected that your universe and its contents were only dreams, visions, fiction! Strange, because they are so frankly and hysterically insane--like all dreams: a God who could make good children as easily as bad, yet preferred to make bad ones; who could have made every one of them happy, yet never made a single happy one; who made them prize their bitter life, yet stingily cut it short; who gave his angels eternal happiness unearned, yet required his other children to earn it; who gave his angels painless lives, yet cursed his other children with biting
miseries and maladies of mind and body; who mouths justice and invented hell—mouths Golden Rules, and forgiveness multiplied by seventy times seven, and invented hell; who mouths morals to other people and has none himself; who frowns upon crimes, yet commits them all; who created man without invitation, then tries to shuffle the responsibility for man's acts upon man, instead of honorably placing it where it belongs, upon himself; and finally, with altogether divine obtuseness, invites this poor, abused slave to worship him...

You perceive, now, that these things are all impossible except in a dream. You perceive that they are pure and puerile insanities, the silly creations of an imagination that is not conscious of its freaks—in a word, that they are a dream, and you the maker of it. The dream-marks are all present; you should have recognized them earlier.

In addition to the dream-like absurdity inherent in Theodor's experiences in the human situation, Twain posts other "dream-marks" throughout the narrative which foreshadow the solipsistic conclusion. The setting in sixteenth century Austria, far away in space and time, helps to establish the unreality of the dream world. Twain gives a clue to Satan's true identity in the alias that he chooses of Philip Traum. Satan, in his function as the symbol of deity, creates a miniature civilization and presents a pageant of man's history. The microcosms are visionary and unreal and prove a foreshadowing of the conclusion in which the universe is declared a vision, a grotesque dream, within the mind of Theodor. As Fussell has shown, The Mysterious Stranger, through the technique of gradual revelation and the artistic adumbrations of the solipsistic conclusion, achieves a degree
of unity surprising for an unfinished work. The Satan-Theodor Fischer character complex of man and his reason, which is a kind of dual personality and a variation of the mistaken identity motif, becomes the vehicle for Twain's theories of determinism and for his condemnation of mankind as Satan or reason gradually reveals to Theodor the true nature of the universe.

In summary, The Mysterious Stranger on the allegorical level of the action has close structural affinities with Twain's earlier novels of the disguised aristocrat who undertakes an incognito journey as a result of a switch of identities. Satan, an archangel and the nephew and namesake of the prince of the devils, travels to the earth and becomes the romantic aristocrat in disguise when he assumes the identity of Philip Traum in order to observe the follies and sins of humanity. The plot of The Mysterious Stranger, like those of The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant, is the educational journey. The journey motif provides the loose, episodic structure of the picaresque novel and enables Twain to introduce a wide variety of episodes illustrating his satiric themes. The role of Satan in the allegory as Theodor Fischer's instructor in misanthropy and determinism is similar to that of Barrow and the Hartford mechanic in The American Claimant and A Connecticut Yankee. Barrow and the Yankee instruct Viscount Berkeley and King Arthur in their new identities
and serve as a mouthpiece for Twain's determinism and condemnation of man and his institutions. Similarly Satan is Theodor's mentor and Twain's spokesman. Theodor accompanies him on his incognito travels around the world, and Satan teaches his pupil Twain's gospel of determinism, shows him the effects of man's perverted Moral Sense, and destroys his faith in a benign creator. The Mysterious Stranger thus is a variation on the pattern that Twain had worked out in The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, and The American Claimant. The disguised aristocrat's travels become a moral pilgrimage for his companion, and he acts as the mentor or instructor. In the allegory, the device of the aristocrat in disguise furnishes Twain with a structural frame and provides a satiric observer and mouthpiece for his satiric themes.

On the psychological-philosophical level of the action, The Mysterious Stranger reflects Twain's lifelong concern with dual personality, which is a variation of mistaken identity. The Mysterious Stranger is related to Twain's early comic fantasy, "The Facts Concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut" (1876), in which he presents the dual personality of man and his conscience for the purposes of comedy and satire. In The Mysterious Stranger Twain again presents the duality of man and conscience, this time to prove the unreality of a meaningless universe. Satan finally reveals that he is Theodor's conscience or his reason.
His progressive revelations to Theodor in the allegory have been the gradual realizations of Theodor's own mind. None of the events have had any reality, and the universe itself is a horrible dream, totally without substance.

The ultimate denial of reality in The Mysterious Stranger was Twain's final answer to "a world made wrong," which he had alternately tried to remedy by satire or to explain by means of a mechanical determinism in his earlier writings. The moral pilgrimage in another identity, which appears in The Prince and the Pauper, A Connecticut Yankee, The American Claimant, and Huckleberry Finn was an attempt to reconcile the contrary alternatives of man's responsibility for his sins and the idea that man is not a free agent but the victim of determining training and environment. Choosing basically good protagonists whose judgments have been prejudiced by early environmental training, Twain tried to show that the world's evils could be ameliorated by substituting bad training and environment for good. Paradoxically, Twain's aristocratic protagonists and Huck Finn arrive at moral awareness when their journey in a different identity brings them in contact with different environmental influences. In The Mysterious Stranger (1902-1908), Twain can no longer offer the possibility that man's very chameleon-like nature may save him in the end. The alternatives of moral responsibility versus determinism only point up the absurdity of the human situation. Twain finally verges
on insanity as he denies the existence of reality and declares the universe a horrible dream.
INTRODUCTION

1. Dixon Wecter, Sam Clemens of Hannibal (Boston, 1952) pp. 22-23


5. Lynn, pp. 272, 276.


8. Twain discusses his problems with plot structure in Mark Twain in Erruption:

"As long as a book would write itself I was a faithful and interested amanuensis and my industry did not flag, but the minute that the book tried to shift to my head the labor of contriving its situations, inventing its adventures and conducting its conversations, I put it away and dropped it out of my mind...The reason was very simple--my tank had run dry; it was empty; the stock of materials in it was exhausted; the story could not go on without materials; it could not be wrought out of nothing." (Mark Twain, Mark Twain in Erruption, ed. Bernard DeVoto, New York and London, 1922, pp. 196-197).

DeVoto's comments on Twain's artistic shortcomings are probably the most famous:

"He wrote on impulse, and when impulse was in circuit with the deeper levels of his phantasy things went well, but when the circuit was broken he could only improvise. Improvisation was responsible for the worst and commonest blemishes
in his books—and, because he could not long sustain it, for the breaking-off of many manuscripts. He had little ability to impose structure on his material; he could not think and feel it through to its own implicit form."
(Bernard DeVoto, Mark Twain at Work, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1942, p. 52).


10. See Mark Twain on the Damned Human Race, ed. Janet Smith, American Century Series (New York, 1962). Hereafter references to "the damned human race" will be placed in quotation marks.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature (Bloomington, Indiana, 1957), IV, p. 311 (K1812); p. 430 (K1812); (K1812.1); (K1812.2); (K1812.11); V, p. 144 (P14.19); (P15.1.1).

2. Writings, XVI, 107.


4. Writings, XXI, 178.

5. Writings, XXI, 123.


Smith, pp. 22-71.

10. Writings, XV, 253.
11. Writings, XXI, 106.


Differing from the majority of scholars, Franklin R. Rogers cites the source of the exchanged identity device in The Prince and the Pauper as the "Burlesque L'Homme qui rit," a parody of Victor Hugo's L'Homme qui rit, which Twain apparently prepared for the Buffalo Express in 1869 or 1870 but never published.

In addition, he notes that the idea of exchanged identities may also have come from Victor Hugo's play, Ruy Blas, the ultimate source for Miles Hendon, whom Twain introduces in his novel as "a sort of Don Caesar de Bazan in dress, aspect, and bearing." "Don Caesar is, in Ruy Blas, one of the principals in an exchange of identities. He and Ruy Blas, a valet, resemble each other to such an extent that the one may masquerade as the other, a fact which Don Salluste turns to account in his plot against Donna Maria by deporting Don Caesar and introducing Ruy Blas at court in his place. Ruy Blas's impersonation parallels Tom Canty's masquerade as Prince of Wales and later as King Edward VI." Twain may not have known Hugo's Ruy Blas, but he was acquainted with another play, Don Caesar de Bazan, based upon Ruy Blas, for he refers to it in the first Snodgrass letter. (Rogers, pp. 113, 173-174).


15. Writings, XV, 253.

16. Writings, XV, 253.

17. Writings, XV, 253.

18. Writings, XV, 164-166.

19. Writings, XV, 251.

20. Writings, XV, 253.

21. Writings, XV, 231.

25. Writings, XV, 265.
27. Writings, XV, 34.
28. Writings, XV, 124-125.
30. Writings, XVI, 20.
31. Writings, XVI, 21.
32. Writings, XVI, 422.
33. Writings, XVI, 449.
34. Writings, XVI, 263.
35. Writings, XV, 253.
36. Writings, XVI, 278.
37. McKee, 18.
38. Writings, XVI, 284.
39. Writings, XVI, 143.
40. Writings, XVI, 291-292.
41. Letters, II, 524.
42. Writings, XVI, 352.
43. Writings, XVI, 355.
44. Writings, XVI, 379.
45. Writings, XVI, 157.
46. Writings, XVI, 107.
47. Writings, XXI, 13.
49. *Writings*, XXI, 56.
50. *Writings*, XXI, 84.
51. *Writings*, XXI, 93.
53. *Writings*, XXI, 93.
54. *Writings*, XXI, 111.
55. *Writings*, XXI, 100.
56. *Writings*, XXI, 100.
57. Salomon, p. 129.
59. *Writings*, XXI, 123.
60. McKee, 18.
64. *Writings*, XXI, 40.
68. *Writings*, XXI, 50.
70. *Writings*, XXI, 195.
CHAPTER TWO


   Philip Young, Ernest Hemingway (New York, 1952), pp. 181-212.

2. Cox, pp. 394-396.

   Adams, p. 89.

   Young, pp. 181-212.


6. Writings, XIII, 139.


8. Writings, XIII, 69.


10. Writings, XIII, 126.


12. Writings, XIII, 278.

13. Writings, XIII, 278-279.

14. Writings, XIII, 375.


16. Writings, XIII, 158.
Walter Blair notes that the Duke's claims are partly based on real life instances of aristocrats in disguise that Twain was interested in. The Duke's pretensions may owe something to the Tichborne trial, a fight by an illiterate pretender to establish himself as heir to a great estate. In 1873, Twain had his secretary fill six scrapbooks with the trial proceedings of the Tichborne case. The Duke may also derive in part from the American claimants in Twain's own family to the earldom of Durham—his distant cousins James Lampton and Jesse Leathers. James Lampton was fond of relating the shadowy tie of Twain's mother's family with the English Lamtons, Earls of Durham. As reported by Twain in his autobiography, Lampton frequently told listeners "the whole disastrous history of how the Lambton heir came to this country a hundred and fifty years or so ago, disgusted with that foolish fraud, hereditary aristocracy, and married, and shut himself away from the world in the remoteness of the wilderness, and went to breeding ancestors of future American claimants, while at home in England he was given up as dead and his titles and estates turned over to his younger brother, usurpers of our day." (Blair, p. 272).

29. Writings, XIII, 169.
30. Writings, XIII, 169.
40. Notable exceptions are Lionel Trilling and T. S. Eliot, who justify the ending on the basis of unity of structure and the symbolic significance of Huck Finn as the alienated man. For Trilling, the ending has "a certain formal aptness." "It is a rather mechanical development of an idea, and yet some device is needed to permit Huck to return to his anonymity, to give up the role of hero, to fall into the background which he prefers, for he is moest in all things and could not well endure the attention and glamour which attend a hero at a book's end. For this purpose nothing could serve better than the mind of Tom Sawyer with its literary furnishings, its conscious romantic desire for experience and the hero's part, and its ingenious schematization of life to achieve that aim." (Trilling, p. 318).

Eliot notes that "readers sometimes deplore the fact that the story descends to the level of Tom Sawyer from the moment that Tom himself reappears. Such readers protest that the escapades invented by Tom, in the attempted 'rescue' of Jim, are only a tedious development of themes with which we were already too familiar—even while admitting that the escapades themselves are very amusing, and some of the incidental observations memorable. But it is right that the mood of the end of the book should bring us back to that of the beginning. Or, if this was not the right ending for the book, what ending would have been right?

"In Huckleberry Finn Mark Twain wrote a much greater book than he could have known he was writing. Perhaps all great works of art mean much more than the author could have been aware of meaning: certainly, Huckleberry Finn is the one
book of Mark Twain's which, as a whole, has this unconsciousness. So what seems to be the rightness, of reverting at the end of the book to the mood of *Tom Sawyer*, was perhaps unconscious art. For *Huckleberry Finn*, neither a tragic nor a happy ending would be suitable. No worldly success or social satisfaction, no domestic consummation would be worthy of him; a tragic end also would reduce him to the level of those whom we pity. *Huck Finn* must come from nowhere and be bound for nowhere. His is not the independence of the typical or symbolic American Pioneer, but the independence of the vagabond. His existence questions the values of America as much as the values of Europe; he is as much an affront to the 'pioneer spirit' as he is to 'business enterprise'; he is in a state of nature as detached as the state of the saint. In a busy world, he represents the loafer, in an acquisitive and competitive world, he insists on living from hand to mouth. He could not be exhibited in any amorous encounters or engagements, in any of the juvenile affections which are appropriate to *Tom Sawyer*. He belongs neither to the Sunday School nor to the Reformatory. He has no Beginning and no end. Hence, he can only disappear; and his disappearance can only be accomplished by bringing forward another performer to obscure the disappearance in a cloud of whimsicalities."


42. *Writings*, XIII, 293.
44. *Writings*, XIII, 375.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Twain humorously discusses his "literary Caesarian operation" that produced *Pudd'nhead Wilson* in the preface of "Those Extraordinary Twins."

"I had a sufficiently hard time with that tale (*Pudd'nhead Wilson*), because it changed itself from a farce to a tragedy while I was going along with it,—a most embarrassing circumstance. But what was a great deal worse was, that it was not one story, but two stories tangled together; and they obstructed and interrupted each other at every turn and created no end of confusion and annoyance. I could not
offer the book for publication, for I was afraid it would unseat the reader's reason. I did not know what was the matter with it, for I had not noticed, as yet, that it was two stories in one. It took me months to make that discovery. I carried the manuscript back and forth across the Atlantic two or three times, and read it and studied over it on shipboard; and at last I saw where the difficulty lay. I had no further trouble. I pulled one of the stories out by the roots, and left the other—a kind of literary Caesarian operation." (Writings, XIV, 230).

2. Lynn, p. 259.
3. Writings, XIV, 23.
4. Writings, XIV, 34.
5. Writings, XIV, 34-35.
6. Writings, XIV, 35.
7. Writings, XXI, 40.
9. Writings, XIV, 139.
10. Writings, XIV, 49.
12. Writings, XIV, 49.
13. Writings, XIV, 40.
14. Writings, XIV, 42.
15. Writings, XIV, 42.
16. Writings, XIV, 224.


22. *Writings*, XIV, 139.
23. Lynn, p. 259
27. Lynn, pp. 262-263.
29. Lynn, p. 263.
31. *Writings*, XIV, 203-204
32. Cox, p. 360.


34. *Writings*, XIV, 23.

38. The plot of *Tom Sawyer, Detective* (1896) is very much like the detective story frame of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894). The complication centers on the switched identities
of look-alike twins, and the climax is the revelation of their true identities by a shrewd detective in a melodramatic court trial, which saves an innocent man from unjust conviction. In both detective stories, the plot of switched identities furnishes the necessary entanglements, suspense, and scene of dramatic revelation. As in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, the characterization in *Tom Sawyer, Detective* suffers from the cliches of detective fiction. Tom Sawyer, like Pudd'nhead, is the highly intelligent detective who shows up the "mud-turtle" inferiority of the town and its police forces. Uncle Silas is the innocent accused, who complicates the detective's work by confessing to a crime that he did not commit. Brace Dunlap, like Tom Driscoll, is something of the melodramatic villain in his revenge schemes to get Uncle Silas convicted of murder. As a result of the too complicated mistaken identity plot, the melodrama of the court room revelations, and the trite characterization, *Tom Sawyer, Detective*, like the detective framework of *Pudd'nhead Wilson* is pure farce.

CHAPTER FOUR


3. Fussell, p. 100.


7. Wecter, p. 22.


16. It is Bernard DeVoto's thesis in *Mark Twain at Work* that the personal disasters of the last years were largely responsible for Twain's pessimism and theories of determinism. (Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain at Work*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1942, pp. 105-140).

Gladys Bellamy, however, has shown that the pessimism and determinism appear quite early in Twain's writing and cannot be attributed to the family catastrophes and business failures of the last years. (Bellamy, pp. 60-61).


18. *Mysterious Stranger*, p. 82.


20. Fussell, p. 100.


23. Fussell, p. 100.

24. *Mysterious Stranger*, pp. 139-140.

25. Fussell, p. 97.


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